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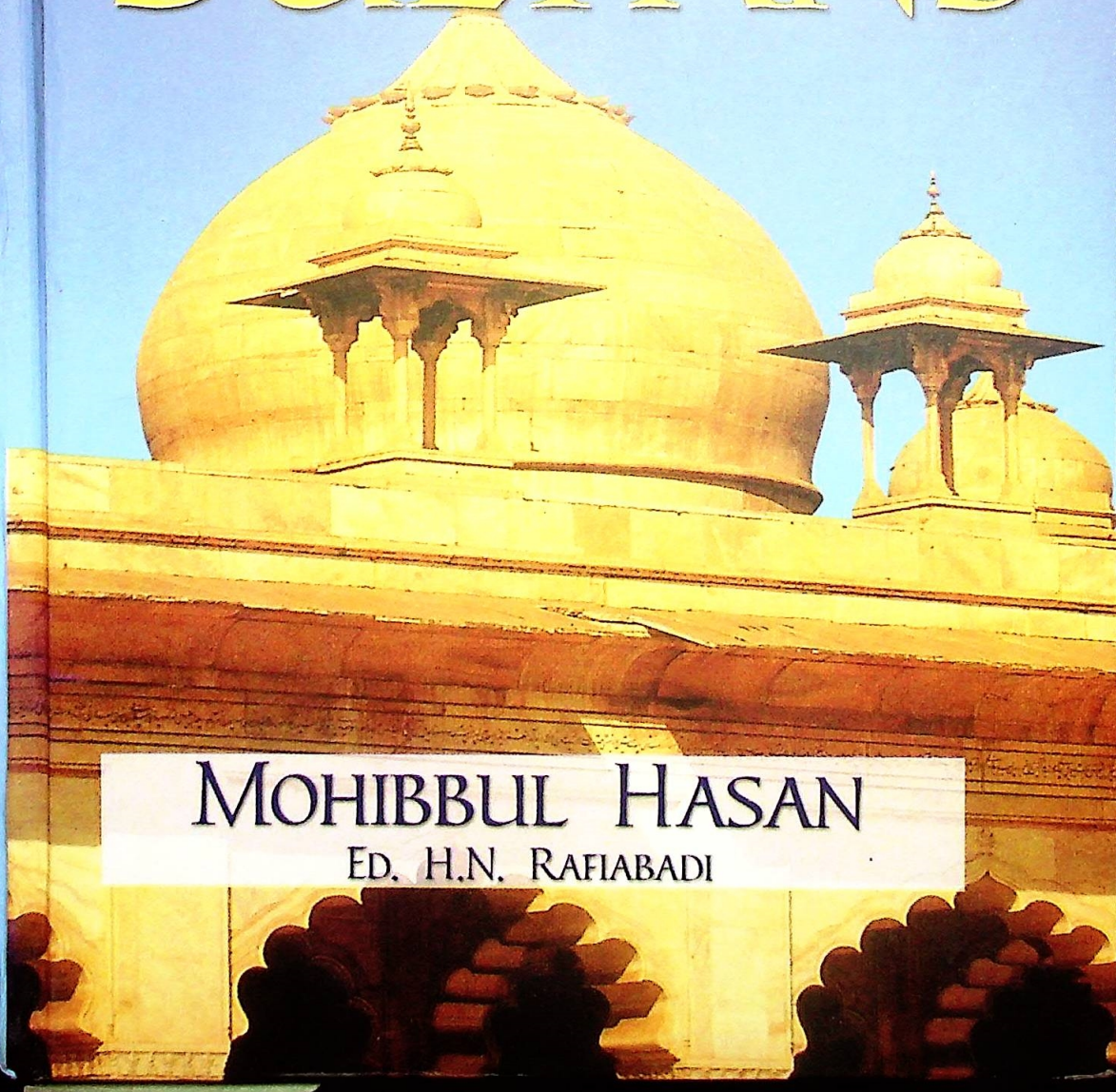

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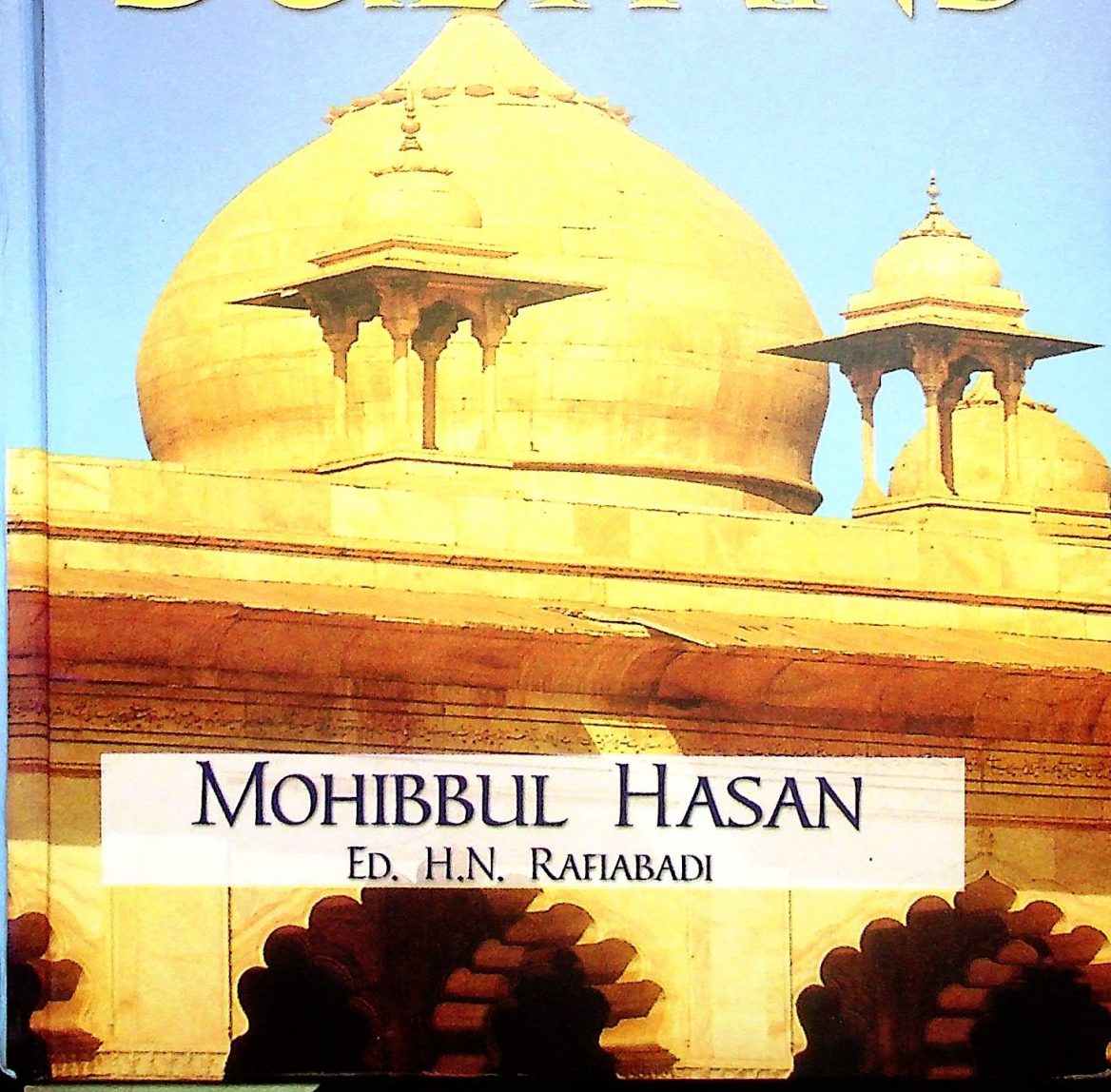

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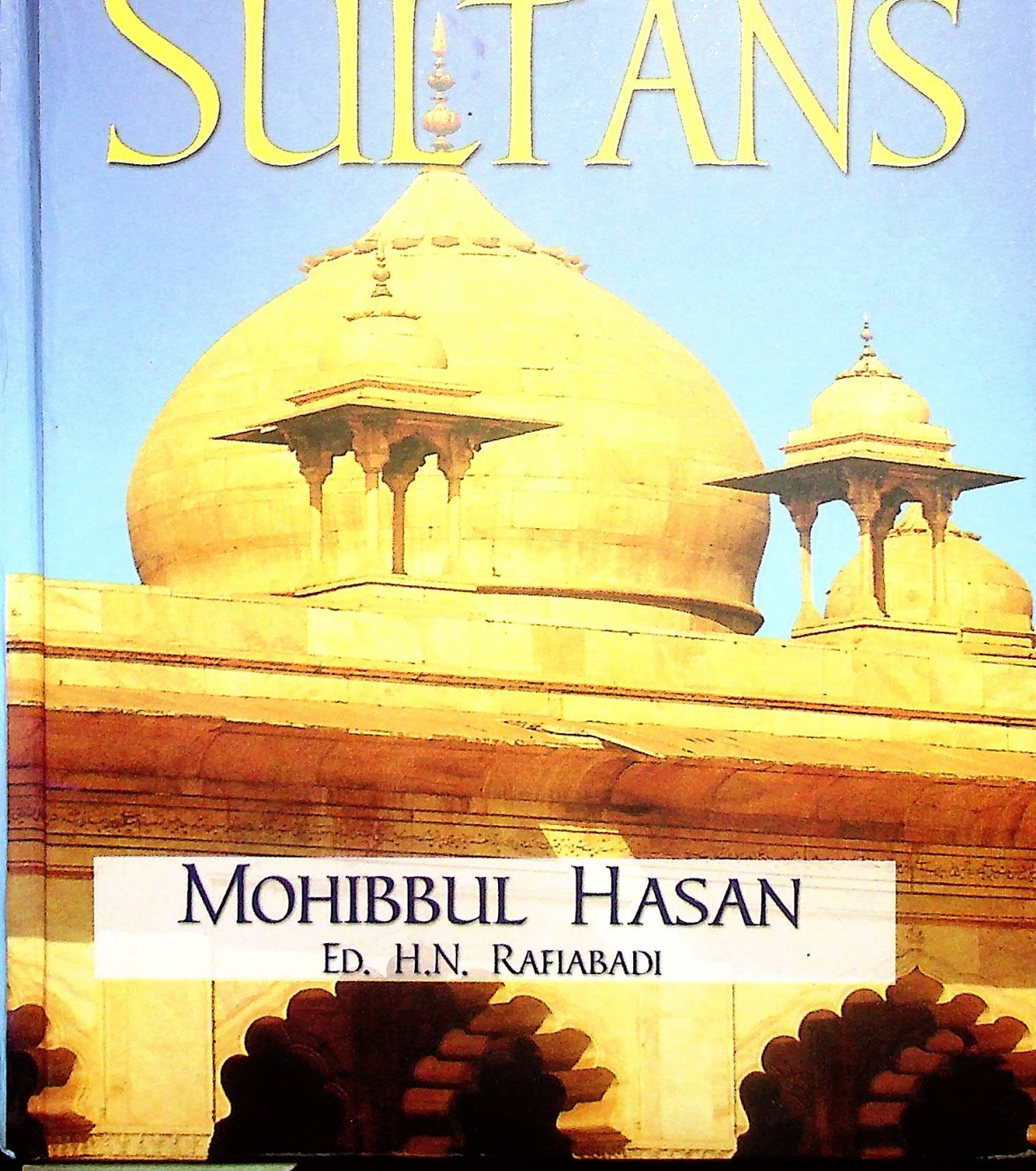

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KASHMIR
UNDER THE SULTANS

MOHIBBUL HASAN

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ed. HAMID NASEEM

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Kashmir Under The Sultans

First edition 2002

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PREFACE

Adequate attention has been paid by scholars to ancient and early medieval Kashmir. But the period from the fourteenth century onwards has not yet been the subject of any comprehensive study. The contributions of Newall, Kaul, and Kak are very sketchy, and are based on slender evidence. The chapter on Kashmir in the *Cambridge History of India* has more detail, but is based mainly on the Mughal sources, and concentrates only on political events. A more recent work is Sufi's *Kashir,* a history of Kashmir from the ancient times to the present day. The scope of his work is so wide that it was not possible for him to utilise all original authorities. The few chapters that he has devoted to Kashmir under the Sultans are brief, uncritical, and lacking in historical perspective.

In the present study I have attempted to reconstruct the history of Kashmir from the foundation of the Sultanate till its conquest by Akbar. I have described not only the political events, but also the administrative institutions, the social and economic life, and the cultural activities of the period. I have based the account on the original sources; but unfortunately, in the case of Kashmir of this period, shrewd observers like Abu'l-Fazl, Ibn Battuta, and *Hiuen Tsiang* are sadly wanting; and consequently there is a great paucity of details concerning the administrative system and the social and economic conditions. The extant Kashmir chronicles are not only unconcerned with social and economic problems, they sometimes even ignore important political happenings. Such of the Sufi works as exist are largely naive tales of miracles performed by

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preparation of the maps; to Mr. Arshad 'Ali Beg for assisting me in the compilation of the Index; and to Mr. Robert Vincent for seeing the book through the press.

I should also like to thank Messrs. B.S. Kesavan and Y.M. Mulay of the National Library, Calcutta; P.C. Bose of the Calcutta University Library; S. Chaudhri of the Asiatic Society Library, Calcutta; S. Bashiru'd-Din and Muzaffar 'Ali of the Lytton Library, Aligarh Muslim University; and John Irwin of the Victoria and Albert Museum, London, for their unfailing help and kindness. Finally, I am much indebted to the Council of the Iran Society and its Secretary, Dr. M. Ishaque, for undertaking the publication of this work; and to the authorities of the University of Calcutta for a generous grant which enabled me to obtain photostat copies of manuscripts from libraries abroad, and to visit Kashmir in order to collect materials for this work.

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the saint and his disciples; and it is with difficulty that one can pick out from them some telling fact relevant to historical investigation.

It remains for me to express my gratitude to Mr. M.K. Kidwai, formerly Chief Secretary to the Jammu and Kashmir Government, who not only provided me with research facilities, but also played host to me during my visit to Kashmir in 1952. I am also greatly obliged to Mr. Asadu'llah Kazmi, formerly Director of Research and Publication, Jammu and Kashmir Government, and to Professor Hasan Shah of Srinagar for their constant and helpful interest in this work.

I am under deep obligation to various scholars who assisted me in a number of ways: to Dr.B.C.Sen and Dr.K.M. Ashraf for reading the manuscript and giving valuable suggestions; to Dr. A.B.M. Habibu'llah for directing my attention to the need for a monograph on this period and for offering useful advice; to Dr. P.B. Chakravarti for translating the Sanskrit chronicles of Jonaraja, Srivara, Prajyabhatta, and Suka into English for me; to Dr. Munibu'r-Rahman who, in spite of his manifold activities, undertook the painful task of reading my proofs; to Dr. Maqbul Ahmad for drawing my attention to the Arab geographical works which contain brief references to Kashmir; to Father V. Courtois for placing the valuable Gottwald Collection, St. Xavier's College, Calcutta, at my disposal; to Professors A. Rashid and Nuru'l-Hasan for obtaining for my use photostat copies of manuscripts from England; to Dr. Tahir Rizvi for his help in the

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PREFACE TO THE SECOND EDITION

Since this book was first published in 1959, a number of works have come out on Kashmir's medieval history. But they do not add much to our existing knowledge of the subject. Srikanth Kaul's edition of the Sanskrit chronicles of Jonaraja and Shrivara are valuable, but they do not contain any new information that was not available in the earlier editions. Bamzai's *A History of Kashmir* (second edition 1973, from the earliest to modern times) is a work of a general nature, based on secondary sources. *A History of Medieval Kashmir* by M.L. Kapur, also based on secondary works, is a good summary of the social and political history of the Sultanate in Kashmir.

Dr. R.K. Parmu's *A History of Muslim Rule in Kashmir* (People's Publishing House, 1969) is of a different category. It was a doctorate thesis submitted to the University of Allahabad in 1948; but considering the long period of twenty-one years that Dr. Parmu laboured to revise it, it is a disappointing work. In the first place, he has devoted his major attention to wars and rebellions, and very little to social and economic history. In the second, he has not consulted the earliest persian chronicles of Kashmir by Sayyid Ali and Hasan Bin Ali Kashmiri. He has also ignored another important *Tarikh-i- Kashmir* (anonymous) written in 1590. Nor has he utilised some of the very important biographies like the *Khulasat-ul-Manaqib,* a life of Sayyid Ali Hamadani by his disciple, Nur-ud-Din Jafar Badakhshi, and the *Tuhfat-ul-Ahbab,* an indispensable work for the understanding of the life and activities of

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'Saiyid' as 'Sayyid'; as 'Razzaq as Razak'; Husamud-Din' as 'Hassam-ud-din'.

Dr. Parmu uses words and phrases whose significance and meanings he does not understand; e.g., 'Muslim State', 'Hindu State', 'Revolution and Reaction' (even a dynastic change means to him a revolution); "the symbol of the Islamic State is namaz"; "some Pathan rulers were themselves typical examples of terrorists" (p 353); "The Age of Mirza Haidar" (to him Age means only a few years of rule even if it does not have any far-reaching results).

Dr. Parmu is in the habit of arbitrarily drawing conclusions and passing judgements. He thinks that many of the customs and practices that are prevalent in Kashmir today, were also in vogue during the Sultanate period, but he does not give any evidence for this. Dr. Parmu very often contradicts himself. He appreciates the struggle of the Chaks against the Mughals, and yet he pays tribute to Shaiykh Yaqub Sarfi by calling him "a progressive intellectual" (p 460) for putting an end to this struggle by inviting the Mughals and guiding their armies into Kashmir. He acknowledges that under the Pathans, "for the first time, we come across names of some Kashmiri pandits who shot into prominence as administrators, revenue collectors and diplomats." And yet he regards Pandit Birbal Dhar as a hero, a patriot, and a saviour for having appealed to Ranjit Singh to conquer Kashmir (pp 352-53). He glosses over the fact that Birbal escaped to the court of Ranjit Singh not because of any patriotic reasons, but because he had

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Mir Shams-ud-Din, the founder of the Nurbakhshiya sect in the Kashmir Valley and Baltistan. In the third place, both Dr. Parmu's method and approach are unscientific. He has given an exhaustive bibliography in order to impress the reader; but he seems to have consulted very few of the sources. For example, he mentions a number of Sufi works in his bibliography, but one would search in vain for any reference to them in the footnotes, and where he does refer to the histories of Kashmir like the *Baharistan-i-Shahi,* and Haidar Malik's, or Azam's histories, he does not give the name of the collection and the number of the MS. Dr. Parmu claims to have utilised the archaelogical, numismatic, epigraphical and literary evidence, but it does not appear from a study of his book that he has consulted any of these sources. The title of Dr Parmu's book is '*A History of Muslim Rule in Kashmir.*' One cannot quarrel with Dr. Parmu if he means by 'Muslim Rule' that a majority of the ruling class was Muslim but, unfortunately, he seems to identify Muslim Rule with Islamic State. This is incorrect, for in Kashmir, as elsewhere, the medieval Muslim State was not based on the 'Sharia'; nor did the rulers live in accordance with the precepts of Islam.

Dr. Parmu has not only incorrectly spelt Persian and Arabic words and Muslim names but has not followed any standard system as laid down by the Orientalists and Indian Scholars for the spelling of Muslim names. He spells 'Shihab-ud-Din' as 'Shahab-ud din'; 'Zain-ul-Abidin' as 'Zain-ul-Abiden'; Khanqah-i-Mallah' as 'Khanqa-i-Maula' or Maulla;

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controversy by denying the very existence of Habba Khatun, who is regarded in Kashmir as the queen of Yusuf Shah Chak and a great poetess and singer. In support of his thesis, Dr. Haidari has pointed out that neither the contemporary Mughal nor Kashmir historians mention Habba Khatun. Even Muhammad Azam, who completed his *Waqiat-i-Kashmir* in 1747 does not refer to the existence of any person of the name of Habba Khatun. It is Birbal Kachru who, for the first time, about the middle of the nineteenth century, mentions her, but without referring to any earlier authority. And from this time onwards, Kashmir chronicles start mentioning Habba Khatun either as the queen or mistress of Yusuf Shah Chak. However, strangely enough Birbal's father, who wrote the *Tarana-i-Surud* mentions neither Habba Khatun nor her achievements as a musician, although he pays tribute to Yusuf Shah for having introduced eleven *Maqamat* in Kashmiri music.

The absence of any mention of Habba Khatun by the chronicles is sufficient evidence to support Dr. Haidari's view that she was certainly not Yusuf Shah's queen, otherwise, as was the usual practice, she should have been mentioned along with other royal ladies by contemporary writers. However, he is wrong in denying her very existence, for we cannot ignore that there is a strong tradition in Kashmir that Habba Khatun lived in the second half of the sixteenth century, and, besides, there is a large body of her *loll*-lyrics which are mostly attributed to her and to no one else. This tradition cannot be brushed aside simply on the

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embezzled State funds and was afraid of punishment at the hands of the Afghan governor.

Dr. Parmu pays tribute to the late Dr. Tarachand in his preface by calling him "a beacon light". But it does not seem that he has been able to imbibe Dr. Tarachand's understanding, tolerance and objectivity. Since Dr. Parmu read a paper in Indian History Congress in which he castigated the rule of the Sultans by calling it oppressive, his outlook has not much changed. He still looks at Kashmir History from the point of view of a Kashmiri Pandit. Lacking historical perspective, Dr. Parmu has greatly exaggerated the persecution of the Kashmiri pandits by Sikandar and has ignored the Sultan's virtues. Fond of generalisations, he thinks that every religious and historical building in Kashmir is constructed on the plinth of a temple. He regards the whole period of the Sultanate as an "alien government" (page 385), and thinks that the coming of the Sikhs ' turned the tide of history.....A new and revolutionary order of society and administrative system came into being" (p 384) It is clear that by "a revolutionary order of society", what Dr. Parmu means is that henceforth the Kashmiri pandits establish their domination over the rest of the population of Kashmir. Dr. Parmu's constant harping on the names of Pandit jawahar Lal Nehru and Shaikh Abdullah shows that his history is more a work of propaganda than of sound scholarship.

Dr. Akbar Haidari, Professor of Urdu at the Amarsingh College, Srinagar, has raised an interesting

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ABBREVIATIONS USED IN CITING REFERENCES TO SOURCES[1]

A.A.: Abu'l Fazl, *A'in-i-Akbari.*

A.N. : _____*Akbar-nama.*

B.S. : *Baharistan-i-Shahi* Author not known. Quoted from the Indian Office and British Museum MSS.

B.N. : Bibliotheque Nationale, Paris.

Briggs : Briggs, J., *History of the rise of the Mahomedan power in India, till the year* 1612

B.M. : British Museum.

Elliot : Elliot & Dawson, *History of India as told by its own Historians.*

Firishta : Firishta, *Ta'rikh-i-Firishta.*

F.K. : 'Abdu'l Wahhab, *Futuhat-i-Kubraviya.*

Hasan : Hasan b. 'Ali, *Ta'rikh-i-Hasan.*

H.M : Haidar Malik, *Ta'rikh-i-Kashmir.*

I.A. : Indian Antiquary.

I.O. : India Office.

J.A.S.B. : Journal of the Asiatic Society, Calcutta.

J.I.H. : Journal of Indian History.

Jonar: Jonaraja, *Rajatarangini,* tr. By J.C. Dutt into English as *Kings of Kashmira.* Also quoted from the Calcutta and Bombay editioinsof the Sanskrit tests.

J.P.H.S. : Journals of the Royal Asiatic Society. London.

Munich MS. : *Ta'rikh-i-Kashmir.* Author not known. K. Hof-Und Staatsbibliothek, Muenchen.

M.T. : Bada'uni, *Muntakhabu't-Tawarikh.*

Nasib: Baba Nasib, *Tazkira-i-Masha'ikh-i-Kashmir.*

N.A. : Aba Rafi'ud'd-Din Ahmad, *Nawadiru'l-Akhbar.*

P.I.H.C. : Proceedings of the Indian History of Congress.

Praj.: Prajyabhatta, *Rajavalipataka,* tr. By J.C. Dutt into English as *Kings of Kashmira.* Also quoted from the Calcutta and Bombay editions of the Sanskrit texts.

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ground that Haidar Malik and the author of the *Baharistan* do not mention her, for we should not forget that these chroniclers were writing a political and not a social history of Kashmir. Dr. Akbar Haidar's contention that Habba Khatun is a mere figment for the imagination of the nineteenth and twentieth century writers in untenable.

The same can be said in Lal Ded, whose existence has also been denied regard to by Dr. Haidari on the ground that neither the Sanskrit nor Persian chronicles of Kashmir mention her name. In her case, too, we cannot ignore the tradition in Kashmir which regards her as a great Yogni and a saint. Moreover, if we deny her existence, how do we explain her poetic compositions like *Vaakh,* which are attributed to her and which have become part and parcel of the folklore of the Valley.

It appears that we have reached a dead end in our researches in the history of Kashmir's Sultanate period; and unless new manuscripts come to light or some fresh numismatic or archaelogical evidence is available, no new light can be thrown on this period, and the gaps, to which I pointed out in my first edition, will continue to remain. In this edition, therefore, I have made only minor changes and corrected some printing errors.

Mohibbul Hasan,
Department of History,
University of Kashmir, Srinagar.

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NOTE OF TRANSLITERATION

The system of transliteration followed is, with slight modifications, that adopted by the Royal Asiatic Society.

Arabic Letter	Latin equivalent
	t
	s
	ch as in church
	h
	kh
	z
	z
	s
	sh
	s
	z
	t
	z
	ch
	h

Names of places are transliterated in their Persian form. Muslims bearing Hindu names are generally transliterated in the same manner. But t in Bat should be pronounced as in the English work talk.

Where h in a final position re- present the 'silent h' it is transliterated, and the preceding vowel is written a.

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R.P.D.: Research and Publication Department Library, Srinagar.
S.A.: Sayyid 'Ali, *Ta'rikh-i-Kashmir.*
S.O.S. (Bulletin): *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and Afraican Studies,* University of London.
Sriv. : Srivara, *Jaina Rajatarangini,* tr by J.C. Dutt into English as *Kings of Kashmir* of the Sanskrit texts.
Suka: Suka, *Rajatrangini,* tr. By M.A. Stein.
T.A. : Nizamu'd-Din, *Tabaqat-i-Akbari.*
T.H. : Pir Hasan Shah, *Ta'rikh-i-Hasan.*
T.R. : Mirza Haidar, *Ta'rikh-i-Rashidi,* tr. by ross and Elias. Also quoted from the A.S.B manuscript.
W.K.: Muhammad A'zam. *Waqi'at-i-Kashmir.*

1. **For details see the chapter on Sources and Appendix D containing the Bibliography.**

****

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Prof. Muhibbul Hasan,
Edited and Introduced by Dr. Hamid Naseem Rafiabadi.
Reader, Shah-i-Hamadan Institute of Islamic Studies.
University of Kashmir, Srinagar.
April, 15, 2001.

INTRODUCTION:-

"Kashmir Under the Sultans" is a book, which has survived the vagaries of time and after about four decades, when it was first published, it has served as a source book for the scholars, researchers and students of medieval Kashmir history; especially on the Sultanate period. Several books have been published by the scholars after the publication of this book, but the authentic, objective and balanced approach, which singles this book out, has mainly been found lacking in most of these books. Moreover, the reliance on sources, both Sanskrit and Persian, astute utilization of folk tradition, and comprehensive treatment of controversial episodes of Kashmir history, have achieved for this book a unique place in Kashmir Historiography. In this introduction, third English edition of the book, we will discuss some of the important salient features of the book, in a comparative perspective and will also substantiate our views with relevant references to

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Appendixes:

A. The Nurbakhshiya Sect of Kashmir. -- -- -- -- -- 457

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C. The Chronology and Genealogy of the Sultans of Kashmir -- -- -- -- -- -- -- -- -- -- -- -- -- -- -- -- -- -- 476

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relies on the local folk traditions of Kashmir and tries to reach to his own conclusion when he says:-

".....We can not ignore that there is a strong tradition in Kashmir that Habba Khatun lived in the second half of the sixteenth century, and, besides, there is a large body of her lol-yrics which are mostly attributed to her and to no one else." While pronouncing a categorical judgement about the matter, the author says:-

"This tradition cannot be brushed aside simply on the ground that Haidar Malik and the author of the Baharistan do not mention her, for we should not forget that these chronicles were writing a political and not a social history of Kashmir." He concludes that the contention that Habba Khatun is a mere figment of imagination of the nineteenth and twentieth century writers is untenable. Investing reliance on folk traditions of Kashmir,[1] the author remarks that Yusuf Shah Chak while in exile in Bihar among other things, "Pined for his beloved queen, Habba Khatun." Substantiating his theses the author narrates the story of Habba Khatun and her encounter with Yusuf Shah and says:-

"She was the daughter of a peasant of the village of Chandahar in the Vihi pargana. She had been unhappy with her first husband who was a drunkard and a debauchee and who ill-treated her. A poetess and a musician, possessed of a sweet voice, she captivated the heart of Yusuf Shah who fell in love with her and

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various authorities. In the same way, we will briefly discuss, the role of Sufi orders in Kashmir and especially the role of Kubaravi Sufis in general and Syed Ali Hamadani in particular, so far as the cultural and economic life of Kashmiris is concerned. Moreover, we will also discuss the essential artistic and craft-related activity, which ensued with the arrival of the Central Asian Sufis in Kashmir, which has unfortunately, not found complete expression in the book under discussion. In the end we will mention the views of several scholars and researchers about the author of the book and the book itself. The four important features of the book in our view are (i) Due weightage to folk traditions, (ii) Rational Interpretation, (iii) Reliance on original sources and, (iv) Objective approach.

Due weightage to folk traditions:-

To start with, the author says about the views of some scholars that the very existence of Habba Khatun, who is regarded in Kashmir as the queen of Yusuf Shah Chak, is doubtful. Because in their view "neither the contemporary Mughal nor Kashmiri historians mention her name. Even Muhammad 'Azam does not refer to the existence of any person of the name of Habba Khatun in his Waqiat-i-Kashmir, written in 1747. However, Birbal Kachru about the middle of the nineteenth century mentions her name for the first time and later on Kashmiri chronicles started mentioning her either as the queen or mistress of Yusuf Shah Chak. Despite these historical narrations, Muhibbul Hasan,

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and on the advice of Sayyid Mubarak, a Sufi, "she began to experiment with Persian metre."[4]

The author relies on local and folk traditions of Kashmir also in regard to Lal Ded, whose existance "has also been denied" by some scholars on the ground that neither the Sanskrit nor Persian chronicles of Kashmir mention her name. The author says:-

"In her case, too, we cannot ignore the tradition in Kashmir which regards her as a great Yogni and a saint."

The author strikes a very important rational note when he says:-

"Moreover, if we deny her existence, how do we explain her poetic compositions like Vaakh, which are attributed to her and which have become part and parcel of the folklore of the valley."[5]

The mystic songs of Lalla Ded have "stirred" the souls of Hindus and Muslims alike to their deepest depths.[6] However, the author seems inclined to consider Lal Ded still a Hindu Yogini, despite the fact that she "raised her voice against idolatry, superstition and lack of the true spiritual values."[7] Because his following remarks suggest the same fact:-

"----------but her efforts were wrecked on the rock of Brahman conservatism and dogmatism."

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married her." He built for her mountain resorts in Gulmarg, Sonamarg and other beautiful spots, which he was wont to visit with her."[2] Justifying his position on Habba Khatun, the author once again takes support from "local tradition" of Kashmir. For example, he says: "It is strange that contemporary authority like Baharistan-i-Shahi and Haidar Malik do not mention Habba Khatun at all. Our information about her is based on local tradition. But unfortunately all kinds of romantic tales are current about her in the valley, so that it is difficult to separate fact from fiction."[3] Instead calling the romantic tales, which are current about Habba Khatun in the valley "unfortunate", in the parlance of modern historians it could be called fortunate as now the non-conventional sources of history have been given greater importance for reconstructing a comprehensive and holistic history of a people or a nation. Secondly, as mentioned earlier, most of the historians of Kashmir and for that matter, of other countries, were engaged in writing "a political and not a social history", therefore, to expect from them reportage narration of literary, romantic and religious accounts of their respective times seems most unlikely. Therefore, our reliance on folk and local traditions has become undoubtedly necessary.

The author comes out with his views more vigorously about Habba Khatun, and undauntedly calls her not only "the queen of Yusuf Shah, but "the most out-standing poetic genius" of the Chak period, who, "introduced 'Lols' or Love Lyrics in Kashmiri poetry,

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fact, history can also be rendered meaningful through a judicious use of legendary, and mythical events."[11]

However, Prof. Khan comes out with a different explanations of denial of the very existence of Lal Ded by some scholars or their maintaining "intriguing silence about her till the advent of the Sikh rule in Kashmir (1819-46) when a Brahman chronicler mentioned her for the first time. He says:-

"It is not, therefore, unreasonable to suggest that Lal Ded's denunciation of idol-worship, caste system and the exploitative nature of the Brahmanic creed stirred the minds of the people, and set in motion such forces in Kashmiri society as led to the gradual adoption of Islamic practices and values by the mass of Hindus in the valley. There is strong reason to believe that the Brahmans must have regarded her as a renegrade."[12]

However, on the contrary, Lal Ded found "a prominent place in the Muslim hagiological literature and chronicles much earlier, so much so that she has been reverentially described as "Rabia Jhani" "Lal Arifa, and "Maryam Makani"[13]

It is based on a Local tradition that several hagiological works have mentioned that there was very close spiritual association between Lal Ded and Shaikh Nur-ud-Din. For example it is said that for the days after the birth of Nur-ud-Din in 779/1379 A.D., he did not take milk from his mother.[14] But, then Lal Ded

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This reliance on folk traditions by Muhibbul Hasan has set in motion a great process of availing from Local social milliu at the hands of an illustrious student of the author Prof. Mohmmad Ishaq Khan, about whom the author had already remarked, "Dr. Ishaq has described not only the political history of Srinagar[8] from 1846 to 1947, but also its social, economic and cultural life. He has given what one might call a historical sociology of the city... He will continue with his researches with various aspects of Kashmiris history for which he is in every way amply equipped and qualified[9]" Prof. Khan maintains, for example:-

"One of the major drawbacks of historical works has been their authors' conventional readiness to accept the antinomy between history and poetry and also between folk lore and history. What is of relevance here is alse the historians' utter disregard of legends. True, one cannot rely on legend as a source of history, but the somewhat ingrained habit of rejecting legendary evidence without critical examination will render historical narrative subjective considering the sway of legends over folk conciousness"[10]

Then Prof. Khan mentions a very significant point and says:

"We can hardly make a sense of life and also that a history by an outright rejection of legends and folklore, which are the lungs of rural culture. History cannot be objective if we do not examine the evidence which historians have generally treated with levity. In

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common values among Hindus and Muslims in some appreciable degree" [17]

Here Prof. Khan has brought to fore a very important point when he says that history cannot be objective or even complete if historians totally reject the evidence about their so-called legendary, figures. He says:-

"We have no strong reason to regard the Shaikh as a pedlar of myths: on the contrary, we find in his person a mystic with an unerring sense of history..... In fact, the Shaikh's verses not only embody and enact the age-od forms of rural culture, but they are a major source of discovery and creation. In a society where the learned Brahmans did not deem it necessary to record the activities of the ascetics and, for that matter, even such luminaries of the Valley as Abjinavagupta and Lal Ded in their works, memory must have been the only vehicle of integrity and continuity [18] Shaikh Noor'u-din has treated the legendary rishis, like Zulka, Miran, Rum, Pilas etc in the same category in order of merit as the established Sufis like Uways-i-Qarani. This he sought to legitimize the term *rishi* by emphasizing its Islamic origin. He says:

"The first Rishi was the Prophet Muhammad.

The second in order was Hazrat Uways. The third Rishi was Zulka Rishi. The fourth in order was Hazrat Miran. The fifth Rishi was Rum Rishi The sixth in order was Hazrat Pilas.

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visited the house of Salar Ganai, the father of the newly-born and addressed him as:-

"You were not ashamed of being born; why then are you ashamed of sucking (at the mother's breast."[15]

It is said that the baby started taking milk and thereafter Lal Ded' visits to the house of Nur ud-Din were quite frequent. When this Local tradition is combined with the verses of the Shaikh, which pertain to Lal Ded, the debt of the former to the latter can easily be acknowledged and we can also consider Lal Ded "the earliest source of inspiration for Nr-al-Din."[16] For example, in one of his verses, the Shaikh acknowledges his debt to Lal Ded when he says:-

"Tas Padman purchi Lalay
Yam Gallay Amrit Chawu....."

i.e. That Lalla of Padmanpore who had drunk the fill of nectar; she was an avtor of ours, O God grant me the same spiritual power (as bestowed on Lalla!) It is on the basis of these verses that some researchers like Ghulam Rasool Bhat, consider Lal Ded a Muslim, who otherwise could not be regarded as a spiritual guide as an apostolic preceptor for a person none less than Nur ud-Din, who was strictly conscious of the religious implications of such an aspiration. But Professor Ishaq Khan and other scholars still regard Lal Ded a "Hindu ascetic"., who was among the saints of the Indian Plains on the ground that played a useful role in fostering

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researches in the history of Kashmiris' Sultanate period!![23] and when at the global level the pronouncements about the "End of History" are made. Thus this aspect of Muhibbul Hassan's book is very significant in the context of medieval history of Kashmir. It seems that Prof. Khan was very much influenced by this dimension of his teacher, which can be evidenced in his two important writtings[24].

However, for Prof. Khan, unlike his teacher "Such of the Sufi works as exist are" not "largely naïve tales of miracles performed by the saint and his disciples" and the former does not find any difficulty in picking "out from them some telling fact relevant to historical investigation"[25] to much consternation to the latter.[26] Because contrary to the author's views that the songs of Lal Ded, mystical verses of Nuru'--Din Rishi and the lyrics of Habba Khatun, throw "some light" on the social and cultural life of medieval Kashmir.[27] Prof. Khan seems tend to believe that these folk lores, traditions of the valley and the mystical songs and lyrics throw "sufficient light" on the social history of Kashmir.

Rational interpretation:-

Muhibbul Hasan does not, however, accept historical accounts without a critical assessment. He fully scrutinizes the sources and accepts only those accounts, which can be fully corroborated with a rational and logical analysis. Here are some examples of this approach.

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The seventh (me) is miscalled a Rishi.

Do I deserve to be called a Rishi? What is my name".

While the disciples of the Shaikh who were spread in every nook and corner of the Valley also came to be Known as Uwaysis.[19]

'In his recreation of the role of Sufi Shaikh and the founder of a mystic order, Nur'd -Din defended the social authenticity of the Rishi tradition [20]. Because the verses of the Shaikh about the Rishis of Yore seem to be definitely rooted in a homogenous body of folk consciousness. [21]

The tradition about some of these rishis is deeply rooted in "a homogenous body of folk consciousness." In this respect Prof. Khan has mentioned a very important fact that whenever a traditional Kashmiri mother wants to bless her child, she is often heard saying: "May you live long like Rum Rishi:! He says:- "And, indeed, there has always existed a strong belief in folk consciousness that Rum Rishi lived for 322 years. It is pointless to argue whether Rum Rishi had such a long span of life, for certainly he did not have it; but the folk belief in Rum Rishis' existence is important for a student of social history." [22]

The reliance on local folk traditions for reconstructing a comprehensive and relatively society-oriented history, seems more warranted especially when it appears that "we have reached a dead end in our

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"As regards Shihabu'd-Din's relations with Feruz Shah it is possible that the two rulers met each other while the latter was carrying on a campaign against the Raja of Nagarkot, and also, perhaps, concluded a treaty."[30] However, he does not mention of the "marriage alliance" between the two and regards the later chroniclers of Kashmiri's views as "legendary accounts"[31]

He analyses these accounts and comes out with a most rational interpretation of the same and says:-

"Just as Kalhana had two centuries earlier exaggerated the military exploits of his hero Lalitaditya, so Jonaraja, and after him other Kashmiri chroniclers, magnified the achievements of Shihabu'd-Din." [32]

Describing the account of Mirza Haidar's death as rendered by Sayyid 'Ali, who was in the Mirzas' service, on the basis that it is not based on the personal evidence as Sayyid Ali "was not present on the spot when Mirza Haidar was killed, but he must have written on the basis of information gathered from reliable witnesses."[33] Stating that the death of Mirza Haidar occurred when he was trying to enter the fort near Srinagar he was killed by an arrow"[34]

Giving the further details of this event, the author mentions other possible accounts which have been provided by other authorities and says:-

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(1) Talking about Jonaraja's Rajatarangini, which provides us with "a brief but useful account of the social and political condition of Kashmir from 1150 to the accession of Shah Mir, and helps us to understand the circumstances" which led to the establishment of the Sultanate. Giving the rationale behind the sympathetic attitude of the author, Muhibbul Hasan enumerates these factors on most rational and logical grounds that:

".....being a courtier of Sultan Zainu'l-'Abidin, Jonaraja is inclined to exaggerate the virtues of his master and gloss over his failings. For the same reason he is prejudiced in favour of Sikandar, the Sultan's father, and places all the blame for the misfortunes of the latters' reign upon his minister Suhabhatta; whose faults he greatly magnifies.[28]"

This rational approach also seems glaringly present when the author denies otherwise a highly "fantastic" report that Sultan Shihabu'd-Din, conquered Kabul, Ghazni and Qandahar during his outside Kashmir expeditions. While as according to our author "in reality the conquests covered a much limited area. These comprised Gilgit, Dardistan and Baltistan to the north, Ladakh to the east, Kishtwar, Jammu, Chamba and other hill states to the south, and most of the northern and western Punjab and the Peshawar district to the west." [29] This critical evaluation is extended to the other view that Shihabu'd-Din's relations with Firuz Shah were cordial. He says, for example:-

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About the Mughal invasion, there are several interpretations about its' main cause. Some scholars regard Kashmiri rulers responsible for it, while as others maintain that some important Kashmiri scholars like Yaq'ub Sarfi and Baba Daud Khaki went to the court of Akbar to persuade him to attack Kashmir in order to annex it with the rest of India. Moreover, the earlier attempts by the Mughals to attack Kashmir have generally been lost sight of by most of the historians who have written on this intricate subject. But Muhibbul Hasan has come out with a more convincing argument for the Mughal invasion of Kashmir by linking it with the earlier attack of Mirza Haidar Dughlat, who according to the author had already "conquered" Kashmir on behalf of Humayun. Mirza Haidar, on his mother's side was related to Babur, and was the maternal cousin of Humayun. [39] He had remained in Kabul with Babur for two years and accompanied him in his campaigns. [40]

Though the author acknowledges this fact that during Yaq'ub Shah's reign Baba Da'ud Khaki proceeded with Yaq'ub Sarfi to the court of Akbar to seek his help against the Kashmir ruler [41] But he also mentions the reasons which led to the fall of the Sultanate and arrival of the Mughals respectively. Among the internal reasons, he enumerates the fanatic and sectarian attitude of Yaq'ub Shah as one of very important factor. The author says for example,

"But the greatest mistake which he made was that he adopted a hostile attitude towards the Sunnis.

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"According to one version, he was slain by Kamal Dubi with a sword; a according to another, a butcher is said to have shot an arrow which hit him in the thigh and killed him"[35] Haidar Malik, however, relates that Mirza Haidar was killed with an axe by a butcher who suspected him to be a Mughal spy.[36] Rejecting these accounts on logical grounds, the author says:-

"All these versions, it must be remembered, are based on hearsay, and may therefore be discounted as spurious. However, there may be some truth in the tradition contained in the Tabaqat-i-Akbari that, while he was leading the attack, Mirza Haidar was accidentally struck by an arrow discharged by Shah Nazar, a cuirassier, belonging to his own army. This statement does not in any way conflict with that of Sayyid 'Ali, who is silent over the question whether Mirza Haidar lost his life at the hands of the enemy or one of his own men."[37] In the foot note, the author dismisses the account of Mirza Haidar's death, as rendered by Haidar Malik, as apocryphal, which suggested that the Mirza was killed by a butcher, who was skinning a cow, suspecting him to be a Mughal spy. The rationale behind this rejection according to the author is, in the first place "incredible", because a butcher should have not engaged in his work in the night "near the scene of conflict. Secondly, Mirza Haidar who was a brave soldier and was well armed, could not have been killed by a butcher with an axe."[38]

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Sunnis and paved the way for the Mughal annexation of Kashmir."[44]

Another mistake which he committed was that he dismissed Muhammad Bat, his prime minister and threw him into prison. He appointed Nazuk Bat in his place, who was not competent "enough to solve the problems, both internal and external, which faced the country."[45]

In this background, owing to Yaq'ub Shah's intolerance and harshness, Baba Da'ud Khaki with his followers went away to Multan, while a number of chiefs headed by Shaikh Yaq'ub Sarfi proceeded to the court of Akbar and requested him to invade Kashmir and annex it.[46] When, on the other hand , Akbar learnt of the dissensions in Kashmir he resolved upon its conquest. Moreover, Shaikh Yaq'ub Sarfi assured him of the support of Kashmiri chiefs [47] Tracing back the reasons of the Mughal interest in Kashmir, the author, in a sense, holds Yusuf Shah and his son Yaq'ub Shah responsible to a great extent. Because when Yusuf Shah was disgusted with the insincerity of the Kashmiri nobles, he had decided himself to invoke the aid of the Emperor Akbar. He, then had proceeded to Lahore to Raja Man Singh and Mirza Yusuf Khan, who had taken him to Agra, and there in January 1580 he was presented to the Emperor."[48] In the same way, at other times, Yusuf Shah had found "resistance" against the Mughals "useless" [49]

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He sent Mulla 'Aini.. to Qazi Musa (Qazi of Sopore) with the message to mention henceforth the name of 'Ali in all public prayers. As the Qazi, who had already defied the orders of Yusuf Shah when he forbade the burial of Abdal Chaks' dead body, after he was killed by Sayyid Mubarak on behalf of Yusuf Shah, and instead buried Abdal Chak in the ancestrial graveyard the same day [42]

The Qazi once again refused to comply with the message, Yaq'ub Shah sent for him and tried to argue with him. Qazi Musa had warned the Sultan against the "intolerant" attitude of the later in religious matters:" of people and had pointed out that he should rather "devote" his attention to "the affairs of state". He had also cautioned him not lose sight of tolerance, as "intolerance leads to chaos and confusion in the Kingdom". But Yaq'ub Shah was greatly displeased by these insolent replies. On the other hand owing to "Yaqub's arrogance and religious fanatism, some of the nobles like Shams Chak, Malik Hasan Chaudura, 'Alam Sher Magre and the Wazir, 'Ali Dar also were driven into hostility against him, and they decided to proceed to Lahore to seek the help of Akbar. [43]

Meanwhile, after some time, Yaq'ub once more began to press Qazi Musa to include the name of 'Ali in the prayers. But Musa was adamant, and refused to comply. Partly due to this refusal, and partly because of some political reasons, Yaq'ub ordered Mirza's execution. This, according to the author, "was an extremely unwise act on his part, for it antagonised the

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army would soon arrive, and then it would be impossible for the Kashmiri forces to continue the resistance. The another says: -"Early next morning, under the pretext that he was going to inspect the troops, he left the Kuarmest Pass (the last pass on the road to Srinagar), and went to the village of Barzula. After cheering up the inhabitants and the soldiers there, he proceeded to Bu Liasa where he inspected the army. He then with a few horsemen escaped to the Mughal camp, which he joined on February 14, 1586".

After mentioning these events, the author rightly remarks that:-

"Although the Kashmiris had been betrayed by their ruler, their spirit was not broken. In place of Yusuf Shah they set up Yaq`ub as their Sultan and resumed the struggle against the invaders."[52]

The Kashmiris under Yaq'ub Shah put up such brave fight against the Mughals, that the later were compelled to make overtures to Yaq'ub by sending Mirza Akbar Shahi to him. Upon this, Yaq'ub agreed to cease hostilities, but the final treaty was concluded by the Raja Bhagwan Das with Yusuf Shah.[53] The author contests the report that the "Kashmiris came forward with entreaties and proposed peace," as has been mentioned by the authors of Baharistan-i-Shahi and others.[54] It was agreed that Yusuf Shah would retain his throne, but that the coins would be struck and the Khutba recited in the name of the Emperor, that the mint, Saffron cultivation, Shawl manufacture, and game

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The cowardice of Yusuf Shah is also evidenced at several times. For example, when towards the end of 1581, Akbar sent from Jalalabad Mirza Tahir and Salih 'Aqil as ambassdors to Kashmir. They delivered to Yusuf Shah an imperial command that he had not kept the Mughal court informed of the conditions in Kashmir. He was also exhorted in the command to immediately proceed to do personal homage to the Emperor. When Yusuf Shah discussed this order with his ministers, they advised him that, "since Akbar appeared to be anxious to annex Kashmir, he should prepare for resistance, give up the life of ease and luxury which he was leading and strengthen the frontier forts. But Yusuf Shah paid no heed to these words, and instead tried to placate the Emperor by sending him costly presents and his third son Haidar Khan with Mirza Tahir and Salih 'Aqil.[50]

When Akbar was not happy with this gesture of Yusuf Shah, the later deputed his another son Yaq'ub Shah to Akbar's court. In the same way, when the Mughals, finally arrived at the pass of Bu Liasa (about 50 miles away from Baramullah) to capture Kashmir, the Kashmiris moved forward to check their advance. They presented stiff resistance to the invaders and the Mughals were defeated at present. At that time, Raja Bhagwan Das sent two of his agents with a letter to Yusuf Shah. After reading this letter, Yusuf Shah held talks with the envoys the whole night, and finally entered into an understanding with them. In this letter although, it was stated that the Mughals had been defeated at present owing to snow and rain, yet another

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"disheartened" Yaq'ub and he decided to retire to Kishtwar.

Apart from these reasons, the author mentions a very significant point for the Mughal annexion of Kashmir. He says:-

"Akbar had always regarded Kashmir as part of the Mughal Empire. This was probably because it had been conquered by Mirza Haidar Dughlat on behalf of Humayun. Although Mirza Haidar had been over thrown, the Mughal title to the valley had not been allowed to laspe. In 1560, as we have seen, Akbar sent Qara Bahadur against Ghazi Chak in order to "uproot that tyrant" whose injustices had been brought to the notice of the Emperor. But Qara Bahadur's invasion of the valley ended in a fiasco. Despite this, the Chak Sultans continued to send occasionally to the Emperor rich gifts, which were looked upon by him as tribute and recognition of his Suzerainty." Moreover, in 1580, Yusuf Shah, who had been driven out of his kingdom, was given assistance by Akbar to recover his throne, and although the help was not employed, and Yusuf Shah regained his kingdom by his own efforts, yet the very fact that a Mughal force had been placed at his disposal was a sufficient Justification for the Emperor to regard him as his Vassal."[57] Thus there were many factors which led to the Mughal annexion of Kashmir. In this regard to lay the blame squarely on Yusuf Shah, Yaq'ub Shah or for that matter on Baba Daud Khaki or Yaqub Sarfi will be against all canons of justice and logic. Because there were multiple reasons, which

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laws would be placed under the control of three imperial officers etc. etc.[55]

Moreover, it was also agreed that Yusuf Shah would be responsible for bringing prince Yaq'ub to the presence of the Emperor, who had escaped from the custody of Mughal guards, at Khawaspur and had safely reached back to Kashmir. Thus, Yusuf Shah owing to his cowardice and obsession with the threat of a Mughal invasion, failed the Kashmiris, who were otherwise ready to resist the Mughal designs with valour as they also displayed when the times demanded. Stating the same fact of history, the author says:-

"Moreover, he became so obsessed with the threat of a Mughal invasion that no amount of assurances of loyalty from his people could dispel the fear from his mind. But instead of adopting measures for the defence of the country, he was convinced that resistance was futile, and that only by a policy of submission could he save his Kingdom. This was, however, a mistake, for he should have realised that Akbar was longing to annex Kashmir, and that once he was in his power he would lose both his freedom and his throne.[56]

Although Yaq'ub Shah tried to present resistance to the Mughals, but due to his intolerant and fanatic approach towards the majority community Sunnis, he could not get the required support from the nobles and rather "on all sides saw nothing else but defection, from people like Bahadur Chak and others, which

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the real cause of the Mughal conquest of Kashmir. He says:- "A'zami and Hasan assert that because of the persecution of Sunnis by Sultan Yaq'ub, Shaikh Yaq'ub Sarfi and some other nobles and Sufis went to the court of Akbar and pleaded for a Mughal invasion of the Valley, in order to put an end to the intolerant policy of Sultan Yaq'ub..."[59] Prof. Rafiqui says that among modern scholars G.M. Sufi and Muhibbul-Hasan accept the version of A'zami and Hasan as correct although no earlier source, either Mughal or Kashmiri, mentions it[60] (p-236). Though Prof. Rafiqui does not subscribe to this position of the authors, however, the conclusion he reaches is very similar as that of Muhibbul Hasan. i.e. that the Mughal conquest of Kashmir was not initiated by Shaikh Yaq'ub, but formed a part of Akbar's ambitious scheme of conquest."[61] . He says further, that the story of Akbar's entering with an agreement with the Kashmiri Sufis and nobles seems to be a later concoction. Because, according to Rafiqui "..... it is unlikely that Akbar would accept terms, for he knew his own strength sufficiently well."[62]

Objective and Impartial approach

One of the important characteristic of Muhibbul Hasan's book is its objectivity and impartiality. The author has honestly tried to adhere to the principle of a cool and unbiased mode of research, where facts speak on their own. He has attempted to put forward a holistic assessment of the events, which were unfolding in the juxtaposed political and social environs of medieval Kashmir. He has not taken "sides" in history,

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resulted in the Mughal annexation of Kashmir. Therefore, our author has tried to provide a rational interpretation of all the events which finally led to the Mughal capture of Kashmir. He has tried systematically to evade the emotional overtures or personal or sectarian feelings, which otherwise have been at the very root of most of the books which were written on medieval Kashmir history, especially when such an intricate question was in discussion. However, Yusuf Shah was not the first ruler who sought outside intervention in the matters of the valley. For example, Muhammad Shah proceeded to the court of Sikandar Lodi (1489-1517) and sought his help to regain his throne. After this it became a common practice with the Kashmiri princes and nobles to proceed, on being defeated by their rivals, to the courts of the Delhi Emperors and invoke their help. In 1540, while Abdal Magre brought a Mughal army from the Punjab under Mirza Haidar, his rival Kaji Chak secured the aid of Sher Shah. According to our author, "This invitation of foreign troops proved disastrous to the independence of Kashmir, for although Mirza Haidar came as a deliverer, he made himself master of the country. After the fall of Mirza Haidar, when the Chaks came to power, Kashmir was again subjected to foreign invasions through the invitations of its descended nobles and princes. But these were repelled by the courage and resourcefulness of Idi Raina, Daulat Chak and Ghazi Chak."[58]

Here an extract from Prof. Rafiqui' seems appropriate to be quoted, which throws some light on

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assessing the book under discussion, says, for example:-

"Mohibbul Hasan's 'Kashmir Under The Sultans, is the first scholarly attempt at producing a better understanding of the social, economic and particularly, political conditions of Kashmir under the Sultans. His brief analysis of the spread of Islam and its influence on Kashmir is useful. Given the wide scope of the book, the author's generalization about the "influence of Hinduism on Islam" calls for a thoughtful examination rather than outright rejection. The view that popular "Islam" in Kashmir became "dilluted" on accout of Sufism's acquiescence in the traditional polytheistic practices is true only to a very limited extent. We have, however, endeavoured to show that the seemingly syncretic beliefs actually provide necessary conditions for the revitalization movements to guide the future of evolving Muslim societies."[64]

Here are some aspects of the objective approach of Muhibbul Hasan:-

While talking about the reasons of the establishment of Muslim rule in Kashmir, the author does not subscribe to the theory that the foreigners invaded Kashmir in order to plunder it against the will of Kashmiris. He rather dismisses this theory and says that Turkish Sultans of Delhi remained pre-occupied with the extension and consolidation of their territories in Hindustan. Even when by the end of the thirteenth century they had succeeded in subduing the whole of

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to invoke Gilbert Ryles' parlance (i.e, "Taking sides in Philosophy"); nor is he unduely obsessed with legends and miracles attributed to saints which for some people are "both misleading yet illuminating" to quote John Wisdom. However, he does not altogether reject these as figments of "imagination", but rather reads between the lines them the henceforth unknown dimensions of the circumstances. This approach has got full fruition in his most promising disciple and the most renowned Kashmiri historian Prof. M. Ishaq Khan, in his "Kashmiris' Transition to Islam, the Role of Muslim Rishis[63] and Experiencing Islam (Sterling Publishers, New Delhi, Oxford Press Pakistan, 1997) On the other hand, he describes the successes and failures of the rulers in a very artistic manner, which brings to life these otherwise dry-hard facts of history. Thus, the author has presented before us the picture of events which is described by Edward Gibbon (1737-94) in these words"-

"History is indeed little more than the register of the crimes, follies and misfortunes of mankind". To state crude facts, enumerate the failures, follies and misfortunes of the rulers and the people who matter in a society, is a spendous job of a historian. Moreover, the historian can't ignore the social and economic conditions, which prevail at a particular stage of a society and a state, which are in a sense, the reflection of the political system of the same. Muhibbul Hasan has attempted to provide sufficient information about all these facets of human life in a most possible objective manner. Prof. M. Ishaq Khan while

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taken to false-hood, intrigue, dishonesty and discord. Such was the state of Kashmir when the storm of foreign invasion by Zulju burst upon the country."[66] While discussing the causes of Rinchana's conversion to Islam, the author gives very convincing picture of the state of affairs:- "Rinchana's mind was inquisitive and alert. He was fond of the society of learned men and Hindu and Buddhist priests, and used to discuss with them their respective religions in order to find a satisfactory answer to the question: "What is truth?" But the discussions failed to satisfy his spiritual cravings. Buddhism, the faith in which he was born, had become diluted with foreign elements and so could not offer him any solace. Hinduism also did not appeal to him because of its caste-ridden rules and the arrogance of the Brahmans who were its custodians."[67]

Rinchana learnt from Bubul Shah about Islam and was so much impressed by its' teachings, which were simple, free from ceremonies, caste and priesthood, that he became a Muslim and adopted the name of Sadru'd-Din according to the saints' advice.[68]

In the footnote the author gives another ground for the Rinchana's conversion to Islam and rejects Jonaraja on sound objective grounds. He says:-

"Persian chronicles represent this event as the outcome of a miracle. They state that, unable to arrive at any decision, Rinchana made up his mind to adopt the religion of the person whom he saw first in the

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Northern India, they did not undertake the hazardous adventure of invading Kashmir, but directed their arms to the conquest of the Deccan and South India which was easier to achieve. After stating these facts, the author says:-

"And when in the second quarter of the fourteenth century Muslim rule came to be established in the Valley, it was not the result of foreign invasion but was due to internal conditions obtaining there"[65] (p-30). Indicating a specific example of the degeneration, which had perculated down to the administrative and political affairs of Kashmir before the establishment of Muslim rule in the Valley, the author says:

"Simhadeva's brother Suhadeva (1301-20) succeeded in bringing the whole of Kashmir under his rule. But the heavey fines and taxes which he exacted, made him unpopular. He did not exempt even the Brahmans from taxation. He was a bad ruler, 'the Raksas of a King who, under the plea of protecting the country, devoured it for nineteen years and twenty-five days."[65] Moreover, like his predecessors, he neglected the defence of the country by leaving the passage unguarded. As a result, adventurers and spies entered the Valley without any difficulty. Alluding to the moral conditions of the society at the advent of the invasion of Zulju, the author says:--

"Socially and morally the people of Kashmir had sunk to the lowest depths, for old and young alike had

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accepted Islam perfectly voluntarily with their hearts and their lives and without any force or pressure"[71]

Stein writes in his introduction to his translation of the Rajatarangini that;

"Islam made its way into Kashmir not through forcible conquest but by gradual conversion. The adoption of Islam by the great mass of the population began towards the close of Hindu rule."[72]

Thus the matter of Rinchana's Islam and the advent of Islam itself has become controversial among the scholars. Dr. Yoginder Skind says:-

"However, this does not mean that there is any unanimity about the actual events, individuals and processes related to the spread of Sufism in Kashmir. Thus, it is claimed by some that the mass conversion of the Kashmiris to Islam owes principally to the efforts of the early fourteenth century Sufi missionary of the Kubrawi order, Mir Sayyed Ali Hamadani, on account of his being remembered till this day as the Bani-i-Musalmani or the founder of Islam in Kashmir. Some other writers have pointed to the key role of the little-known Sufi of the Suhrawardi order, Sayyed Bulbul Shah, who preceded Sayyed Hamadani by half a century, in introducing Islam in Kashmir before the establishment of the Shah Miri Sultante.[73]

"Both groups of writers would then trace the origins of Islam in the region to the early fourteenth

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morning. The first person he saw from his palace early next morning ways Bulbul Shah who was engaged in prayers. He immediately went up to him and, after making inquiries about the main tenets of his religion decided to adopt it."[69]

Rejecting Jonaraja he says:-

"Jonaraja is wrong in saying that Rinchana wanted to become a Saivite, but that the Brahmans refused to convert him. In ancient and medieval times convensions from Buddhism to Hinduism and vice versa were of common occurrence. In reality the reason why Rinchana did not embrace Saivism was that it could not satisfy his spiritual cravings. It is probably out of bitterness against Rinchana's rejection of Saivism that Jonaraja wrote that the Brahmans refused to take him into the fold of Hinduism. It was also due to the bitterness he felt at Rinchana's acceptance of Islam that he did not even so much as refer to the event in his chronicle."[70]

The views expressed by the author about the Rinchana are supported by other scholars also. They have rejected the theory which has been floated by the "dispassionate scholars", motivated by partisan and political concerns, that "the spread of Islam in Kashmir owed principally to political patronage or alleged persecution of local non-Muslims on the part of some Muslim rulers." For example, Farooq Bukhari strongly rebuts this suggestion, and writes that, "Actually, it is an irrefutable fact of history that the people of Kashmir

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ordered by the sixth century C.E, Hindu King" Mihirakula."[78] Numerous Buddhist temples were taken over by the Brahmins, the most prominent being the shrine of Pas Pahar atop the Takht-i-Sulaiman overlooking the Dal Lake in Srinagar, which was renamed the Shankaracharya temple and was dedicated to Jyesteswara or Shiva.[79] The Hindu King Nara is said to have burnt down thousands of (Buddhist) Viharas.[80] Brahmincal hostility against the Buddhists persisted even in the period of Muslim rule. Thus, we learn that Udayagiri, the Brahmin Prime Minister of Sultan Shihabud-Din suggested to the King that to overcome his fiscal crisis he should loot the Buddhist temples and melt their idols to make coins. The King, however, responded with "indignation at this suggestion"[81] But on the other hand, Muslim rulers allowed religious freedom and some of them even collected "books on the puranas, logic and Mimansa from different parts of India at considerable expense. These books were placed at the disposal of the scholars.[82] Prof. Ishaq Khan talks about the gradual process of Islamisation of Kashmir and says that "although a gradual process of peaceful penetration by Muslim traders and adventurers had begun in the picturesque Valley centuries before the establishment of the Muslim Sultanate in 1320 by Rinchana, a Buddhist convert to Islam, it was not until the works of philanthrophy undertaken by the Sufis, through the organisation of the Khanqahs, that a graduol process of Islamic acculturation began in the caste-ridden Kashmir society". While discussing the reasons behind the conversion of Rinchana, Prof. Khan

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century efforts of certain Sufis, only a few years before the first Muslim King of Kashmir, Rinchana, a Ladakhi convert to Islam from Buddhism, took power in 1320 C.E."[74] .Yoginder Skind also accepts the view that Islam was introduced in Kashmir "considerabley before the arrival in Kashmir of Sayyed Bulbul and Mir Sayyed Ali Hamadani."[75] .Thus, the evidence provided by the early medieval Hindu and Muslim sources suggest that the origins of the Islamic presence in Kashmir must be pushed back several centuries before the arrival of the first Sufi missionary about whom we have firm historical information, the fourteenth century Sayyid Bulbul Shah.[76]

Before advent of Islam in Kashmir, Buddhism was vehemently condemned by the Hindu writers, which shows that there had been an internal dissension between the Hindu and Buddhist religion, which had entered Kashmir in the third century B.C. For example, Jayaratha, in his Haracharita Chintamani, attributes the destruction of the Brahminical sacrifices to the Buddha, and calls the Adi Buddha as a demon. In his Sivastura Vartikam, Varadaraja notes that it was to check the doctrines of atheists like the Buddha, that the Saivasastras were written. Kalhana, calls the Buddhists "the enemies of the Agama, who had put an end to the rites prescribed by the Nilamata Purana, which upheld the Brahmins as gods, and supported firmly the caste system[77] Not only theoritically did the Hindus attack Buddhism, but the hundreds of Buddhist monks were slaughtered, their temples destroyed and "the massacre of thousands of Buddhist families was

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houses, the state had borne no part in the spread of Islam. Every preacher had to paddle his own canoe. There had, therefore, taken place no demolition of the Hindu temples or images,.... The influx of Sufis and Sayyids in Kashmir went a long way in spreading Islam in the country[86]

Our author has mentioned the same fact thus"-

"The Muslim chroniclers also speak of the wholesale destruction of temples, but they distort facts owing to their anxiety to represent Sikandar and his minister as champions of Islam."[85] The falseness of their view is evident from the fact that if we add up the lists given by them, of temples allegedly destroyed, then not a single one should have remained standing. In reality, however, even seven hundred years after Sikandar a large number of temples were still in existence in the valley."[86]

Frank Ames says:-

"Kashmir, bordered by Chinese, Indian and Muslim territories, resisted for a long time before acquiescing to the teachings of the Sufi dervishes who brought the Islamic religion into the Kashmir Valley in the eleventh century, and from this time Islam became a continual inspiration in the creation of designs. By the fourteenth century it was firmly implanted and declared a state religion."[89] According to Prof. Khan:- "The Buddhists were the first to embrace Islam in Kashmir. The first Muslim ruler of Kashmir was Rinchana, a

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says in a manner reminiscant to Muhibbul Hasan that "besides being a soldier of fortune, Rinchana, like other Buddhists of the medieval period, was fond of taking part in religious discussions... It was his spiritual cravings, which prompted him to hold a religious discussion with Devaswami, a Brahman priest, who lived in the city of Srinagar. Disgusted with the spiritual pretensions and the caste-consciousness of the Brahmin, Rinchana rejected Saivism."[84]

N.K. Sigh says:-

"The process of Islamisation of Kashmir started as early as the eighth century and was accelerated after the Shah Mir dynasty was established in 1339... ... The Hindus were at that time fed up with the misrule of their Kings and the exploitation by Brahmans. While the King, the courtiers, the royal officers and the Brahmins lived on the fat of the land and in an atmosphere of immorality, the lot of the masses was extremely miserable, and they were engulfed in depths of despair. Any change that had the prospect of emancipating them from the shackle of out dated social customs and political set up was, therefore, sure to be welcomed. Islam, with its search light on, unity of God, equality between man and man, and a man and woman, and rejection of idolatry held such hopes to them."[85] He says further:

"It is true that the throne of Kashmir had been under the occupation of Muslim rulers since 1339, but beyond building a few mosques and establishing alms-

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raised her voice against idolatry, superstition, and lack of true spiritual values," though with little success."[94] Here, though the author, has expressed his views about the role of Sufis in the Islamisation of Kashmir, yet it seems pertinent to give a brief assessment of the Sufi orders in this process. Because, the author has not given the details of the Sufis and their orders and the role they had played in this process. Moreover, it is in place to note that almost all the Sufi orders flourished in Kashmir, which were in vogue not, only in Central Asia, but in Indian Sub-continent also. Furthermore, two important Sufi orders, not that prominently well known in India, developed significantly in Kashmir. The first order of Sufis was Kubarawi and the second, Noor Bakhshiyah respectively. The latter order of the Sufis has been dealt by the author in the appendix. The author endorses that the influence of "the Ulama and Sufis was "great" but it was generally confined to social and religious matters."[95] Therefore, we will mention some important dimensions of Sufis of Kashmir and will also highlight the contribution of Sayed Ali Hamadani to the development of arts and crafts in Kashmir in order to show that contrary to the views of some people, the Sufis were very active in the economic and practical fields apart from being the embodiments of spiritual and moral virtues in the ethically decadant environs of medieval Kashmir.

The history of Sufism in Kashmir is spread over a long period of time starting from Bulbul Shah to the Sufi poets. Sufi saints are still inspiring people of Kashmir by their subtle mystical insights. The

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Buddhist prince of Ladakh, who embraced Islam at the behest of a Muslim saint. Rinchanas' conversion should not, however, be treated as an individual case. It would have been difficult for him to maintain his foot hold in Kashmir, but for a sizeable numbers of Buddhists who must have followed suit."[90]

According to Muhibbul Hassan, it was the group of Sufis, "the pietist missionaries from India and Central Asia, "who converted the Hindus to Islam, whether from the Buddhhist or Hindu masses. These "saint missionaries" came in the wake of traders and adventurers, and "it is they who were responsible for introducing Islam into the Valley."[91] The author after stating that the Sultan Sikandar was the "only" ruler, "who took keen interest in the work of proselytisation.", however, "his work was undone by Zainu'l-'Abidin." Here he mentions a very important fact. He says:-

"Thus the government under the Sultan pursued, for the most part, a policy of non-interference in religious matters, and the success of Islam in the Valley was mainly due to the efforts of the Sufis."[92] The Islam, as introduced by the great Sufi saints, was a simple monotheistic creed, free from ceremonials, caste, and priesthood. It thus appealed to the people, and won converts easily."[93] Citing specific examples, the author says that the dissatisfaction of Rinchana with the Buddhist and Hindu beliefs and practices is typical of the spiritual unrest that had affected the minds of many in the country. Later, the author continues, "Lalla Ded

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But it should not be misconstrued by this fact that the role of Islam was marginalised and overshadowed by the local influences, as the phenomenon of Sufism is to be viewed always in its global perspective, and Kashmir was not an exception to it. Since the Suharwardi, Naqashbandi, Qadiria, Kubarawi and Rishi schools of Sufi thought flourished side by side in Kashmir, the interplay of various foreign and local elements in the flowishing of Kashmir mysticism can easily be discerned.

Sufism came to Kashmir after the emergence of Khanqahs and Silsilas had taken form at various places in the Islamic world. Though "almost simultaneously with the foundation of Muslim rule in Kashmir (720/1320), Sufism was introduced there." Still there are evidences that Islam had made its inroads long before the establishment of Muslim rule in Kashmir. But there is no doubt that the systematic and well-organised Sufi activities began only towards the end of the fourteenth century. Hence forward Sufis like Sayed Ali Hamadani, Mir Muhammad, Saiyyid Jamaluddin Bukhari and Saiyid Ism'ail Shami began to enter Kashmir in quick succession.[99] One important ideological framework, which can be discerned running through all the activities of foreign and local Sufis and mystics in Kashmir, was based mainly on the works of Ibn 'Arabi and the Kashmiri Sufis seem to have taken little notice of Shaykh Alaud-Din Simani's criticism of Wahdat-al-Wajud of Ibn Arabi. A different trend, which emerged after the coming of the Sufis from Persia and Central Asia, was the crude synchronized

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Suharwardi, Naqashbandi and Qadri Sufi Orders have also played a very great role in the process of Islamisation of Kashmir. This process was taken to it's logical conclusion by the localized Rishi version of Sufi teachings, and a central figure in this regard was Shaykh Nooru'd-Din, popularly known as Nund Resh. Islam came to Kashmir from Central Asia and later on was accommodated within the Kashmirian ethos, which was shaped by diverse factors over a large period of time. The influences from Hinduism, Buddhism, and Zoroastrainism were received, by the local people of Kashmir. Even the Sufis had imbibed some elements, which were considered anti-Shariat by some authors. For example, Mirza Haidar laments about the "un-Islamic and anti-Shariat ways of Sufis."[96]

Moreover, the spiritualization process started with the coming of the Sufis from other parts of Islamic world. According to G.M.D. Sufi:

"..... These Syeds and their followers seem to have stimulated the tendency to mysticism for which Buddhism and Vedantism had already paved the way".[97]

Another author says,

"Popular saint singers, became the apostles of a synthesis and rapprochement, aided by common points in Advaita and Sufism".[98]

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Rinchana to Islam was based on any manipulation what so-ever.

It is said that after Rinchana came to the throne, he held discussions with both Hindu and Buddhist priests, in order to ascertain truth but none could satisfy him. Finally, he decided to accept the religion of the first person that he should see the next morning. That person was Bulbul Shah, a Suharwardi Saint, who at that time was offering prayers near the royal palace. Rinchana immediately went to him, and after inquiring about his religion, accepted Islam.[102] Thus Bulbul Shah, the first Suharwardi Sufi, was able to convert Rinchana to Islam apart from some 10,000 converts, including Rawanchandra, the brother-in-law of Rinchana. Rinchana, in turn granted the revenues of certain villages to Bulbul Shah for his maintenance and also built a Khanqah for him near his own palace.[101] Attached to the Khanqah was a large Langer-khanah (kitchen) known as Bulbul Lankar, where the poor were fed free of cost twice a day.[103] A mosque was also built near the hospice by Rinchana, (Sadruddin, the new name given to him by Bulbul Shah), where he offered congregational prayers at appointed times. Though Prof. Rafiqui attributes Rinchana's conversion to Islam, to "political reasons",[104] but the real motive behind the conversion seems to be spiritual yearning of the king rather the "political expediency".[105]

Thus the first Suhrawardi Sufi, of whom we have any record to have entered Kashmir, was Bulbul Shah, who by converting the king, increased the

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form of it, which came to fore with the development of an indigenous Sufi order known as the Rishism.[100]

To start with let us take a close view of some Sufi stalwarts. Much research work has been done on the Kubarawi and Rish mystical movements of Kashmir. The monumental works of Prof. M. Ishaq Khan, titled as Kashmir's Transition to Islam – The Role of Muslim Rishis (published by Manaor Publication Delhi, 1994, and 1997,); Sufism in Kashmir, of Prof. A.Q. Rafiqi, (Bharitiya Publishing House, New Delhi) are the books in point. Therefore, I have confined my attention to lesser-known history of Sufism in Kashmir. The role of Sufis belonging to the Suharwardi, Naqashbandi and Qadiri orders has been elucidated in the following pages.-

Sayyid Sharfud'-Din 'Abdur Rahman, (d. 1327 CE), popularly known as Bulbul Shah, was given the title of Bilal, because his extreme love of the Prophet. He was the disciple of the Suharwardi Sufi, Shah Ni'matullah Wali Farsi. Bulbul Shah succeeded in attracting to Islam Rinchen Shah (1324 CE), who was instrumental in popularizing Islam in Kashmir. Parimu Says:

"By sheer accident or manipulation, it so happened that Rinchana's eyes fell on Bulbul Shah, a Muslim Fakir, so he became a Muslim and adopted the name Sultan Sadruddin."[101] We have already refuted the views which suggest that the conversion of

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during the reign of Sultan Nazuk Shah (1529-30, 1540-52). A Khanqah was built for him at Narwara, in Srinagar and an annual grant was assigned to it from the State revenue for the maintenance of his Langar. Among his disciples was Baba Mas'aud, popularly known as Narwar Sahib.

Another important Suharwardi Sufi was Saiyid Jamaluddin Bukhari, who arrived in Kashmir in the first half of the sixteenth century. Among his disciples, was Sheikh Hamza Makhdum. Shaikh Hamza was born in (900/1494) at Tujar, near Sopore. Saiyid Jamaluddin, before his departure from Kashmir, gave the Shaikh authority to enroll disciples into the Suharwardi order. Sheikh Hamza considered the Zikr (remembrance of the name of God) to be medicine for the ailment of the hearts on the one hand, and strongly disapproved of Sama' (mystical music) on the other. Shaykh Hamza is popularly known in Kashmir as Mahbubul Alam (beloved of the world). He died in 984/1576. He was buried on the slope of Koh-i-Maran in Srinagar, where in his lifetime he used to spend long hours in meditation.[108] Makhdum Hamza called upon people to lead a virtuous life, pay the religious taxes and acquire knowledge.[109]

Among the disciplies of Shaikh Hamza are Sufis like Baba Dawud Khaki, Maulana Shamsu'd-Din Pal, Khwaja Ishaq Qari, Khwaja Hasan Qari and Baba Haidar Tulmuli. Of these the most distinguished was Baba Dawud Khaki (d. 1585 A.D)[100]

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prestige of Islam and led to the acceptance of the new faith by some of the nobles and, according to one tradition, by 10,000 inhabitants of the Valley.[106]

Bulbul Shah led a life of complete self-abnegation and preached against superstitious and charlatans widely prevalent amongst the Kashmiris of his period. He helped the poor, and showed immense love towards the down trodden.

During the reign of Sultan Zainu'l-'Abidin (1420-70), another Suharwardi saint, Saiyid Muhamad Isfahani, (or Rif'ai, b. 735/ 840) arrived in Kashmir. He was the disciple of Saiyid Jalaluddin Bukhari of Uch, popularly called Makhdum Jahaniyan Jahangasht (1308-84). Sayyid Muhammad lived a life of retirement. He first took up his residence in Srinagar and later on entered the village of Khanpur (Baramulah). Since he applied himself to the most austere spiritual exercises, he is known as Janbaz (one who stakes his life).[107] It is said that he came to Kashmir with about 150 saints and entered into Kashmir, from Shopian in A.H. 827 (1421 A.D.). He was very fond of providing food to the poor from his Langar, the place where he stayed was called Khanpur, meaning "a place of eating". He established a preaching centre in Baramulah and constructed a mosque and an Eid-gah as well.

The other Suharwardi Sufis who came to Kashmir are:

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and confined himself to a room near Koh-i-Maran. Saiyid Amin seems to be an ardent advocate of the doctrine of Wahdatul-al-Wujud (Unity of Being). Some of his verses seem very pertinent to be quoted. For example, he says:-

"The world and the men of the world are endowed with the essence of the Eternal, if you look deeply (you) will find everything in the human being".

He says further, "The entire Universe is with me. My abode is beyond lamakan (spaceless world). O'alim (religious scholar)! My body is (itself) a universe. Know! The soul of universe is my soul".[114] He was a broad minded Sufi, and didn't descriminate people on the basis of their credal denominations. He says, "Do not scorn infidelity, to those who have found out truth, it is not different from faith". Again he says, "To an 'arif (Gnostic) the difference between the mosque and temple are meaningless. Men endowed with spiritual eminence, find both good and evil identical". About the mystical union with God, he says:- "I want visal, (union). I do not want either this world or the other. I worship God, I do not worship houses or walls". He was killed in 1484 along with the fifteen members of the family. He was later buried at 'Alikadal.[115]

Another Naqashbandi saint was Khwaja Khawand Mahmud (d.1642). He did not stay in Kashmir for a long period and soon left for Agra. However, in the seventeenth century, he made several

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He is the author of a number of books like Dastur-ru-Salikin, Virdul-al-Murdidin, Qasida-i-Jalaliyya etc. Baba Dawud was an outstanding poet as well.

Baba Daud approved of Sama' which was denounced by his teacher, Shaykh Hamza and the other Shrawardi Sufis. He argued that Sama' stimulates love when heard within the limits prescribed by the Sufi masters.[111] He upheld Zikr-i-Khafi (inward remembrance of God), instead of Zikr-i-Jahri (remembrance of God loudly) and believed that the latter was meant for beginners alone.[112]

Like, the Suharwardi Sufis, he believed that the renouncement of the world did not mean that one should go naked or wear a Longota, (the narrow strip of cloth). Renunciation in fact demands nothing but sincereity on the part of the devotee, wealth in itself was no obstacle to the mystical path.[113]

The Naqashbandi order was introduced in Kashmir during the reign of Sultan Sikandar (1389-1413). It made it's presence felt with the advent of Khwaja Mahmud towards the close of the sixteenth century. Naqashbandi order was introduced in Kashmir by Saiyid Hilal (d. 861/1457).

Saiyid Hilal left only one disciple, named Mir Saiyid Amin, popularly known in Kashmir as Wusi-Sahib'. He led a life of retirement at Asham. After the death of Saiyid Hilal, Saiyid Amin moved to Srinagar

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Mirak Mir spent most of his time in meditation at a Khanqah in Srinagar, known as Khanqah-i-Andrabi. He died in 1582 A.D, and was buried at Mallaratta in Srinagar. Another Qadri saint, who came to Kashmir in 1581 A.H. from somewhere in India was Saiyid Ism'ail Shami. He did not stay long in Kashmir and returned to India, but during his brief stay there, he firmly laid the foundation of the Qadiri order in Kashmir. His famous disciple was Mir Nazuk Niyazi. Mir Nazuk did not approve of the practice of Sam'a, unlike the first Qadiri saint in Kashmir, Sayyid Ni'matullah. He died in 1614 A.D and was buried at Qazi Kadal in Srinagar. Mir Nazuk's Khanqah at Khanyar, in Srinagar was taken up by his eldest son, Mir Yousuf (d. 1617) who was initiated to the Qadiri order by his father. Mir Muhammad Ali (d. 1660 A.D), the third son of Mir Nazuk, popularized the Qadiri order in Kashmir.[118]

Apart from the above Qadri saints, mention may be made of Mullah Shah Badakshani, who stayed in Kashmir for more than 22 years. He was among the disciples of Mian Mir Qadri. In this way Suharwardi, Naqashbandi and Qadri were very important Sufi Orders, which influenced Kashmir in several ways and prepared the way for the Sufistic interpretation of Islam, which was the hallmark of the Kubarawi and Rishi Silsilas (orders) of Kashmir.[119]

The Wahdat-al-Wajud (Unity of Being) philosophy was asvocated by almost all Kashmiri Sufis, which obtensibly seems to have several resemblances with Hindu Vedanta darshan. But in reality it is very

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visits to Kashmir, and helped in the popularization of Naqashbandi order in Kashmir.[116]

The impact of Shaykh Ahmad Sarhindi was reflected on the Sufis of Kashmir also. For example, Shaykh Murad Teng was the disciple of Shaykh Abdul Ahad Sarhindi Faruqi, who was the son of Shaykh Ahmad Sarhindi. Apart from this influence, he imbided impact from Muhamad Yousuf Kawsa, Mulla Abdullah, Khwaja Muhammad Naqashbandi etc.[116] Shaykh Ahad Sarhindi came to Kashmir and Shaykh Murad went to Sarhind along with his peer in 1081. AH and returned back to Kashmir after getting complete Sufi training and the letter of authority to initiate others in the Order of the Sufis he belonged to. Among his illustrious disciples was Khwaja 'Azam Deedah Mari, who is a famous Kashmiri historian and the author of Waq'aat-i-Kashmir. He remained in the company of his Shaykh for twelve years. Among the novices of Shaykh Murad were other people like Khwaja Sayyid Sharif, who died in 1114 A.H.[117]

The Qadiri order was introduced in Kashmir in the second half of the sixteenth century by Sayyid Ni'matullah Shah Qadri. Before coming to Kashmir, he was living in India, where he was a disciple of Shaykh Muhammud Dervesh Qadiri. Saiyid Ni'matullah did not stay long in Kashmir and soon left for India. Among his disciples in Kashmir was Shaykh Mirk Mir. He was the son of one Saiyid Shamsud-din Andrabi, whose ancestors had migrated to Kashmir from Andrab, Khurasan Iran, in the reign of Sultan Sikandar. Shayk

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Syed Ali Hamadani:-

Syed Ali Hamadani holds man as microcosm in whom are reflected all the attributes of macrocosm. God has deposited in his heart the secrets or elements which are neither in 'Arsh' (Throne), Farsh (Earth) and Aasman (sky). Syed says that man is a small universe in his appearance but in its actuality, reality and essence he is the macrocosm[122] (Jahan-i-Kabir).

Since Syed Ali Hamadani was greatly influenced by Ibn Arab's Wahdat-al-Wajud, the universe according to him is a "Big Man" created by God in order to realize Himself, while man is a small universe, reflecting like a well polished mirror the objects of nature or cosmos as they really are. The perfect man is the viceregent of God on earth. He is endowed with the ability to cognize or understand the whole universe. All the elements of universe receive the munificence of God through him, and through him God beholds His creatures and has mercy upon them.[123]

To Syed Ali Hamadani Sa'adah is the end of man's life and the objects. But no end is end in itself, it becomes a means for another end, for everything has some special purpose or end for which it is created. It is achieved, it renders happiness possible. Hamadani calls this end as Sa'adah, or Sa'adat-i-ukhrawia or Saadah-al-'Abdi or Saadat-i-Haqiqi.

One can attain Sa'adah by following the people who are on right path. Moreover, one should spend his

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different from it. Even the famous 'Kubarawi, sufi Saiyyid Ali Hamadani (1314-1384) was an ardenth advocate of the same philosophy. Although Sayyid 'Ali's teacher Allaudin Simnani was fiercely opposed to the theory of Wahdat-al-Wajud.. He wrote a tract in defence of the Wujudi doctrine, entitled as "Risala-i-Wujudiyya". He wrote two commentaries on Ibn Arabis' acclaimed "Fusus-al-Hikam". According to Prof. Khaliq Ahmad Nizami and Farooq Bukhari, Sayyid Ali was the first to introduce Ibn Arabi's thoughts in South Asia.[120]

The Wujudi trend of philosophy is also adopted by the founder of Rishi movement of Kashmir, Shaykh Noorudin (d. 1440 CE), in the fourteenth century. He says, for example, "After abandoning myself, I found the Being (Mujud)." And he says further:-

"I looked for my benevolent God with an undivided mind, and then alone I recognized the reality of my own self". And he also says,

"Oh fool! Why do you want to waste your life in seclusion. Learn self-introspectioin and talk to God, Who is within you".[121]

Thus, Sufism in Kashmir was unique in the sense that unlike the Central Asia, it accommodated Suharwardi, Naqashbandi and Qadiri orders within the broader framework of Islam and developed it's own school called Rishism, which was the culmination of the indigenous mystical ethos fruitioned into a universal phenomena.

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forbidden, lawful (Halal). They are condemned to Hell."[127]

The malady of miserliness should be overcome by spending the wealth in the way of Allah. One should sit in the gathering of good ones to reach the goal or to attain the Saadah (Risalat-i-Akhlaqiat[129]

Hamadani exhorts the Muslim ruler to satisfy the needs of the Muslims as it constitutes the highest form of worship. He should always seek to satisfy the needs of his subjects.[130]

Thus, Syed Ali Hamadani has presented a comprehensive code of conduct for an individual and a ruler to lead a virtuous life, which could finally lead him to eternal salvation. (Sa'adah). In this scheme he has not lost sight of earning by lawful means and spending one's possessions in the way of God. He has laid emphasis on earning from Halal (lawful) sources, which is a hall-mark of his Sufi thought.

Hamadani entered the valley in the reign of Sultan Shihab-ud-Din in 774/1372. After staying for a short time he left for Mecca. He visited Kashmir second time in 781/1379 in the reign of Sultan Qutbu'd-Din. This time he stayed in there for two and a half years and then left for Turkistan via Ladakh in 783 A.H. He paid the third visit in 785/1383, stayed in Kashmir for a short period, and then left "Kashmir on account of ill-health and stayed at Pakhli for ten days at the request of the ruler of that place whose name was Sultan

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possessions in the way of God. It is very difficult to stand in the rank of Sufis. But one should make his efforts to be in the rank of Ahl-i-Futat (people of magnanimity). If one does not do so he will be amongst the people in loss.

Men are created dependent. They need each other's help for the fulfillment of their works and their success. Thus the people should help each other according to their capacity[125]

Hamadani substantiates his views by a Prophetic saying i.e, "the Prophet said that Muslims are like a building, in which every brick supports the building for its erection and strength. In the same way the individual Muslims are like the bricks giving essential support to the edifice of Muslim society. Externally strong people possessing the gifts of God must spend them in his way. But in the contrary they forget their duty and the rights of others:"[126] Hamadani exhorted people to spend in the way of God and admonished the people for their miserliness. For example, he quotes the Quranic verses in which it is revealed that the possession of a miser will be of no use in the life hereafter. It will become the cause of miser's destruction[127]

Miserliness causes destruction, blood-shed and is an open revolt against Allah. Saiyed Ali quotes a tradition which runs as:- "Save yourself from miserliness. It caused the destruction of the people before you. Due to it they did blood-shed and made

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sources are unanimous "in saying that Sayyid 'Ali came to Kashmir only once." While as Hasan, and Miskin maintain that 'Sayyid 'Ali visited Kashmir three times, in 774/1372-73, 781/1379-80, and 785/1383-84. Rafiqui for example says that according to a legend, Sayyid Ali is said to have travelled three times all over the world and Hasan and Miskin seem to have based their account on this story. Such modern scholars as Muhi'ud-Din Sufi, and Muhibbul Hasan, agree with them, both relying on Miskin"[134]. According to Hikmat, Sayyid 'Ali visited Kashmir twice"[135]. In the same way an Iranian journal, *Darya*, Shiraz, indicates that Sajid Ali came to Kashmir in A.H. 785 for the third time and stayed there upto Dhil-q'adah of 786, before intending to leave Kashmir,[136] Prof. Shamsu'd-Din Ahmad[137] and[138] Tr. Of Waqa'at-i-Kashmir, in notes and accepted 'Azam Dedah-mari's view that three visits were made by Sayyid Ali Hamadani to Kashmir, i.e. second time the Sayyid came to Kashmir, during Qutbu'Dins rein in 781 A.H and stayed there for about six months, and third time in 785 A.H[139]

The Sadat who (descendants of the Prophet SAW) and the people accompanied Syed Ali Hamadani to Kashmir came from Iran, Iraq, Kabul, Kandhar, Bhukara and other areas. They brought along with them different arts and crafts, thus paving way for the development of handicrafts."[140] Thus the economy of Kashmir and the social conditions of the valley became better."[141] Some important collegues of Shah-i-Hamadan and the places where they are burried are as follows:-

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Muhammad." However, Baharistan-i-Shahi does not mention Hamadani's third visit. Hamadani died in 786 A.H., at the age of 73 in Kanar, a place in the vicinity of Pakhli. His body was carried to Khattalan now in Russian Tajkistan and was burried there on 25 Jumadul Awwal, 787,[131] (14 July, 1385).

It is said that Saiyed Ali Hamadani travelled through the then inhabitted world thrice in his life. The purpose of his visit was to know the ettiquetes, customs and manners of the people living in these places. He says for example.

"I travelled thrice from the West to the East and observed many wonderful events and things in the sea and land. When ever I reached to a city or an inhabitat, I observed that the customs and habits of that place are altogether different from that of the other places."[132]

Abu Muhammad Haji Muhiuddin has indicated that this travelling was taken in this manner. In the first instance, he visited from one city to another, second time from one village to another and third time from one house-hold to another. He met the ascetics, Qutbs, and others during this travelling. Nooruddin Badakhshi writes:- that during his travel he went to Muzdaq and Khatlan, Balk, Badakhshan, Syria, Baghdad, Hijaz, Rome, Mawaraul-al-Nahar and Sarandeep (Lanka)."[133]

Thus, the travells of Syed 'Ali Hamadani were quite extensive. Though prof. Rafiqui, Prof. Khan, Gh. Rasool Bhat and other scholars hold that the early

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1. Syed Muhammad Madani –Nowshara Srinagar.
2. Syed Mohammad Hisari –Skindarpora.
3. Syed Ali Akbar –Tashwan Qalandar pora Srinagar.
4. Syed Mohd. Kirmani -- Tashwan Qalandar pora, Srinagar.
5. Syed Mohd. Zandaposh –Mazar-i-Salatin.
6. Syed Haji Muhammad –Ranawari.
7. Syed Nooruddin – Ranawari.
8. Syed Muhammad –Ranawari.
9. Syed Muhammad Asfahani –Baramullah.
10. Syed Muhammad Afzal –Nawshahra.
11. Syed Khalil Azizi –Sadrabal.
12. Syed Kamal –Naid Khai.
13. Syed Muhammad Qureshi–Bijbhara.
14. Syed Abdullah –Bijbhara.
15. Syed Murad –Bijbhara.
16. Syed Kamal –Sadra Maji.
17. Syed Mohammad 'Aanposh –KanaKadal.

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1. Mir Syed Samani or Syed Samnani-Kulgam.
2. Mir Syed Haidar-Kulgam
3. Syed Jalaluddin 'Attayee-Kejhamah, Baramullah.
4. Syed Kamal Thani-Naid Khai, Anantnag.
5. Syed Jalaluddin Muhaddith,--Fatha Kadal Srinagar.
6. Syed Feeroze—Sampur (Pampur)
7. Syed Muhammad Kazim—Lattapora (Pampur)
8. Syed Rukunu'd-Din –Awanpora, Baramullah.
9. Syed Fakhru'd-Din.—Awanpora, Baramullah.
10. Syed Muhammad----Qureshi----Bijbihara Islamabad.
11. Syed Muhammad –Qureshi, pargana Shada, Mujah Latar.
12. Pir Muhammad Qari--Qutbuddinpora. Langrata.
13. Syed Muhammad Baihaqi, --Sikandra.[142]

Mir Mohammad Hamadani, the illustrious son of Syed Ali Hamadani also contained the mission of his father and established his companions at the following places:-

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of his earning. This profession remained in tact even after the Shah came to Kashmir. Thus Shah-i-Hamadan made Kashmir a minor-persia (Iran-i-Sajheer) by these fine and captivating industries and crafts."[194] Shawl – Baffi. (Shawl weaving) is Known as "Kar-i-Ameeri" in Kashmir, perhaps for the same reason that its' was given great boast by the Sultan under the guidance of Shah-i-Hamadan.

It is not only Shawl industry which was revived by Syed Ali by his clandestine efforts. But even the other local and Iranian crafts were given a big boast by the Amir. Most of the scholars like Shamsu'd-Din, Nishat Ansari, Dr. Iqbal, Farooq Bukhari, Mustaq Hamadani, and others attribute emergence of these industries to Syed Ali Hamadani. Thus apart from bringing new sciences, culture and values from Iran to Kashmir, Mir Syed Ali Hamadani created a different environment in Kashmir by promoting various arts and crafts of Iran there. However, though history bears testimony to the fact that Zainul-'Abidin and Mirza Haidar were two important rulers of Kashmir, who promoted various arts and crafts in the valley but in a different context the introduction of arts and crafts can easily be attributed to Sayyid Ali, as he opened the gates of interaction between Iran and Kashmir in a manner, which has no precedent. As said earlier more than 700 people arrived in Kashmir with Sayyid Ali and all of them were not religious scholars or Islamic preachers. All of them were not even Sayyids. But, there is no doubt that they were representatives of Irani culture and Islamic legacy. Thus, apart from bringing

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18. Syed Habibullah Azizi—Nawshahra

19. Syed 'Allau'd-Din –Skandrapora. (Son of Syed Jalalu'd-Din Bukhari Jahanyan Jahan gasht).

20. Syed Zeerak (Syed Ziyau'd-Din) Kandah-Hamah.

21. Syed Nooruddin –Zania Kadal.

22. Syed Fakhruddin –Neewah.

23. Syed Abdullah –Andarwari, Srinagar.

24. Syed Mohammad Nooristani, Hawal.

25. Syed Mohammad Khwari –Fath Kadal.

26. Syed Ali Akbar –Maisma

27. Syed Qutbu'd-Din –Qutbu'd-Din pora.[143]

It is said that Sajid Ali Hamadani brought a large group of 700 people with him to Kashmir. However, they did not become a burden on Kashmir. Because they brought with them Iranian arts and crafts and made them well-established in Kashmir. Several industries of Hamadan and Iran became well introduced in Kashmir. The Shawl industry was in its moribund condition when Syed 'Ali came to Kashmir. It was due to the fervant support to this industry and the patronage of the Sultan Qutbu'd-Din that this industry received a new lease of life. Shah-i-Hamadan adopted cap-making as the source

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Hamam dari, Naqashi, Kafashdoozi, Kala pachapazi, Dozandagi, Kabab Pazi, Hareesa pazi, Halwapazi, Shirini pazi, Gilkari, Zargari, Sahafi, 'Qaligari, Khimahdoozi, Lihaffdoozi, Kakazsazi, Qalamdan sazi, Hakaki, Zardadoozi, Misgari; Maharkuni, Kharati, Zahgiri, Kamangari, Kulah doozi, Roghan Kashi, Namdasazi, or Namda gari, Sozan kari, Checken Dozi, Pasham sazi, Kundan gari, Nadafi, Cheet sazi, Koza gari, jild sazi, or Jild--gari, etc. However, some of these professions were basically indigenous in the valley, but most of these professions and arts came to Kashmir from Iran and Central Asia. The Kings of Kashmir made them prominent in Kashmir by assigning them a prevalent place. Zainul-'Abidin invited, for example, artisans from Samarqand like Sahaf, Kakaz saz, Qaleen bauf, Jild-saz, Qalamdan saz, Hakak, Muharkun and other experts of arts and crafts. Moreover, he sent some Kashmiris to Iran and Central Asia for learning these different arts and professions[146]. Thus Kashmir Shawl industry, for example, Pashmina, Tafla, Shah Tus and other varieties became famous world-over. In the same way, Kashmiri woolen and Rufal Shawls (embroidered or simple), carpets, book-binding, Qalamdan sazi, Sozan-Kari are still existing in Kashmir. Moreover, the wood-carving and Roshan gari and handicrafts are such important Iranian arts, which have continued to flourish in the Valley. The shoulder mantle or Shawl had been in existence, in a variety of forms, from the most ancient times, serving as a staple and protective garment not only for the rich and noble but also and above all for the common people. In ancient Buddhist

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new sciences, culture and values from Iran to Kashmir, Mir Syed Ali Hamadani created a congenial atmosphere for the promotion of various arts and crafts of Iran in the Valley.

The arts and crafts of Kashmir have been justly renowned, for centuries, all over the world. They consist mainly of handicrafts like woolen textiles of fleecy soft texture and infinite fineness in wearing, delicate embroidery work in silk and wool, hand woven carpets of finest warp and woof, lovely painting in wonderful designs on papier mache goods or on wood, fine traceries in wood-carving, deft weaving in willow-wicker, and superb metal work, of the cottage industries the most flourishing is that of wood-carving—which is not only beautiful but also of great utility, and which finds a ready and expanding market throughout the world, especially for work suited to modern requirements, (such as screens, drawing and dinning room sets, smooking cabinets, and other articles of personal use) which are exquisitely manufactured in well-seasoned walnut-wood. An entirley indigenous form of wood-work (known as Khatam bundi) is used for the decoration of ceilings, fitted together in grooves. Another important cottage industry is the making of numerous useful and pretty articles of wickerwork."[145]

These are the arts and crafts of Kashmir, which have developed over a long period of time. But when we see these in their real context, the interaction, it seems that between Iran and Kashmir facilitated the emergence of these and new crafts and arts like Najari,

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Contrary to views of Ames and Mukhtar the Kashmiri Shawl seems to have a quite long history in its background. For example, several Hindu scriptures suggest that the fabric of Shawl was produced in the Valley during the epic age. The Mahabharata holds the tradition that when Lord Krishna went to the Kauras (the sons of Dhritrastra, King of Hastinapur) as a representative of the Pandavas (the sons of king Pandav who on his death was succeeded by his brother Dhritrastra) he presented them with 10,000 of Kashmiri Shawls.[153] However, as said earlier, it was during the period of 14th century when Shah-i-Hamadan came along with his campanions that the Shawl industry was revived in Kashmir. He has been credited with introducing once again this industry in valley after its decline. Later on, Zainul-'Abidin and the Mughals contributed clandestinely in its progress in the Valley.

For example, the same fact is borne out by the statements of the important historians of Kashmir.

G.M.D. Sufi Says:-

"The Shawl industry in Kashmir may be said to be as old as the hills. It is stated to have flourished in the days of Kaurvas and Pandvas. It was in a prosperous condition in the days of the Roman Empire, when Kashmiri Shawls "Were worn by the proudest beauties at the court of the Caesars."[154] In Ashoka's time we find the Shawl mentioned in Buddhistic works as the Kashmiri Shawl. But in course of time it had it's death.

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literature the Shawl can be found among recorded inventories of woolen textiles, and its' manufacture appears to have been in existence at least as early as the late sixteenth century. [147]

A recently-found document provides new evidence suggesting that indeed it may have been during either the fifteenth or sixteenth century that the industry first began. This document was written by the well-known Shawl merchant of nineteenth century Kashmir, Hajji Mukhtar Shah.[148]

Mirza Haidar Dughlat encouraged many of the industries originally introduced by Zainu'l-'Abidin a hundred years earlier,[149]

According to Mukhtar, it was under the guidance of Haidar's faithful adherent and cook, Naghz Beg, that a new industry was generated which induced the local people to develop the Kani Shawl technique. He also introduced a new feature of red and green spots in regular rows.[150] Following his death, Shawl weavers continued developing the spike-shuttling method, using the double-colour scheme in various ways, generally white putto for men and red for women. Later, saffron yellow and indigo blue were also added.[151]

The industry continued to flourish, but, as Mukhtar points out, it was not until the Mughal's conquest of Kashmir in 1586 that the Kashmir Shawl industry realised its full potential.[152]

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Rajatarangini or any other source and it was developed under the patronage of the Sultans with he help of weavers who came from Persia and Turkistan. These immigrants not only introduced new patterns but also a new technique in the twil-tapestry technique-which has a parallel in Persia and Central Asia but no where in India and Pakistan[158]. However, under Zainu'l-'Abidin Kashmir had become famous for its Shawls[159] when the Mughals conquered the Valley the Shawl industry was in well-developed state[160]

N.K. Singh says:-

"A large number of Sufis, saints scholars and other Muslims came from Persia to Kashmir and majority of 'these people were not only the missionaries of Islam but also zealous champions of the Persian Language and culture."[161]

Moreover, a large number of artists and craftsmen came here and profoundly affected the existing pattern of art, and architecture. These trends led to a "harmonious blending of the new and the old." Because the genious of Islamic art lies in the manner in which the process of assimilation was accomplished.[162]

Here, it must be pointed out that although, the Shawl industry got boast at the hands of the Sultans, it was from very beginning existing in Kashmir. However, after it was revived again by the efforts of Syed Ali Hamadani; it never declined after that time. The arts of Kashmir contrary to the views of N.K.

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J.M.D. Sufi says further that:

"It was however, through the efforts of the great saint, Shah Hamadan that the Shawl, as we know it, was re-born in Kashmir in the latter part of the fourteenth century and the Shawl industry took a new lease of life. Sultan Qutbu'd-Din who was then the ruler of Kashmir "patronized, nourished and stimulated it."[155]

Another Scholar writes:-

"Sayyed 'Ali traveled widely throughout Kashmir preaching Islam, establishing the Kubrawi Sufi order wherever he went. Along with him from West and Central Asia had come some 700 of his disciples, whom he despatched to various places in Kashmir to spread the faith and set up Sufi hospices and mosques. Besides preaching Islam, these disciples play a key role in promoting various arts and crafts, for which Kashmir is famous and unrivalled to-day. Many of these disciples were skilled artisans and craftsmen, and they introduced into Kashmir such arts as had earlier been developed in Iran as Shawl weaving, carpet-making, papier mache, calligraphy, silver and brass smithy and book-binding."[156]

Nuhibbul Hasan holds:-

"It is also stated that the Shawl industry was founded by Sayyid 'Ali Hamadani in 1378.[157] Because the Shawl industry did not exist before the thirteenth century, for there is no reference to it either in Kalhan's

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on the habits, customs, dress, social relations, modes of worship and other aspects of the Kashmiris and took Kashmir closer to Iranian and Islamic ethos." Yousuf Teng, does not regard Zainu'l-'Abidin founder of all arts and arts in Kashmir. Because, he thinks that Syed Ali was accompanied by very worthy and seasoned craftsmen and artisans. Thus, these arts and crafts were well-established at various places of Kashmir before Zainu'l-'Abidin". [165] Says Yousuf:-

When Syed Ali arrived to Kashmir, there were about 12000 people, whose profession was idol making, who use to carve out of stones the images of various deities and gods. After the advent of Islam, these people were provided alternative in form of these newly introduced Iranian arts and crafts. They were especially taught different forms of stone-carvings and handicrafts. These stone-carvers excelled in this art with the passage of time and started inscribing and embassing Quranic verses on stones in a fine artistic manner. Moreover, the slabs which were used as tablets on the tombs of deed were carved by this section of society with added aesthetic decorations.[166]

According to Prof. Shamsuddin Ahmad, the cultural relations between Kashmir and Central Asia became more strengthened when Zainu'l-'Abidin came to power, after about two years from the arrival of Shah-i-Hamadan (1474/879) and this process was taken to its logical conclusion by the hands of Mir Muhammad Hamadani and his disciples and companions. It indicates that he last visit of Shah-i-

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Singh are basically introduced into Kashmir by Syed Ali Hamadani in a clandestine manner. However, there is no doubt that the flourishing of these arts and crafts took about a hundred years period in order to become a complete enterprise, when gave a royal patronage to these commercial arts. Mirza Haidar Dughlat writes, for example:-

"In Kashmir one meets with all those arts and crafts which are, in most cities, uncommon, such as stone-polishing, stone-cutting, bottle-making, window-fitting. (Tabdanta rashi) gold-beating, etc. In the whole of Mawara-un-Nahar, except in Smarqand and Bokhara, these are nowhere to be met with, while in Kashmir they are even abundant. This is all due to Sultan Zainu'l-'Abidin"[163]

But before Zainu'l-'Abidin it is said that while in Journey from Ladakh to Kashmir, Syed Ali Hamadani brought Pashm from Ladakh with him and made it's use prevalent in the shawl-weaving and it's various processes. Moreover, it is mentioned that he prepared a pair of socks from his own hands and gifted it to Sultan Qutbu'd-Din Shah-miri.[164] After this, Pashm was used in the shawl industry in a big way. According to Sahibzada Hasan Shah, Syed Ali Hamadani was the main figure who brought the relations between Kashmir and Central Asia to a focal point once again, and created a revolution in the cultural and social contacts between the two regions. History testifies the fact that the oriental culture and arts and crafts were introduced in Kashmir by him. He exerted tremendous influence

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Iran were established by Syed Ali. In a sense, then Sayyed 'Ali could be justifiably considered to be the father of Kashmiri arts and crafts. The introduction of these new crafts must have had a tremendous impact on the local economy, providing new sources of income for impoverished artisans. It is a sign of Shah-i-Hamadan's breadth of vision that he clearly understood that 'religious emancipation is incomplete without economic emancipation" By encouraging the spread of new arts and crafts he unleashed what one writer calls "an industrial revolution" which 'slowly freed the masses-from the exploitation of the Brahmins." Further, the positive worth that the Shah placed on manual labour was in marked contrast to the contempt with which the Brahmins treated it. The Brahmins "Looked down upon workers and artisans, but Sayyid Ali, by popularising various new crafts and 'making the focus of his attention the economically oppressed sections of society, helped to build their self-confidence and self-respect and pride in their work."[169]

However, it does not mean that the basic mission of Syed Ali was to develop arts and crafts in Kashmir. He was, no doubt, on a religious and spiritual mission in Kashmir. But there are some "symbolic aspects" in his lengthy career, which suggest that he honestly wanted that his followers should earn their bread by adopting various professions with out becoming a burden on the society.

As said earlier the:-

Historical records and other writings indicate that Syed Ali Hamadani was very fond of tailoring-

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Hamadan to Kashmir in 785/ A.H, was the starting-point of creating a minor-Iran (Irani-Sagheer) out of the otherwise isolated Valley of Kashmir, which after that period remained the custodian of Iranian and Islamic culture in this part of the world"[167] for about 750 years.

The seven hundred saints (Sadat, who accompanied the Shah-i-Hamadan, brought with them economic, political, industrial, agricultural, artistic, literary, architectural, religious and spiritual traditions of Iran. These people were themselves related to various professions and most of them were architects, agriculturists and men of different crafts and arts. Since Syed Ali selected a special entourage to accompany him to Kashmir, from among the artists and professionals, in order to render this wonderful historical achievement, being himself embodiment of all these traits, which were individually imbued by his colleagues. He was thus their leader. He had combined in his person, like all great classical oriental leaders, various and ostensibly diverse traits. He was well-versed with the political traditions, artistic intricacies and spiritual moorings of his age and provided a leading role in all these spheres to despite beg himself a great spiritual mantor (Qutbu'l-Artab), he used to tailor caps by his own hands in order to lam his livelihood, by the sweat of his forehead."[168]

In Kulasatul-al-Manaqib, it is said that:-

"He used to tailor-caps and it was his means of livelihood". Thus, the cultural and artistic relations with

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Moreover, the Kashmiris learnt the art of making pucca bricks and polishing them from Muslim immigrants from Samarqand, Bokhara and Persia.[170] Wood work and the willow industry is a special feature of the cottage industry of Kashmir. Wonderful things are made of the willow sticks by the "Kashmiri deft"hands. Baskets, boxes, chairs and the famous Kangaris are produced in big quantity. However, in the Kangar (portable brazier), the indigenous art in willow-work appears to have reached its perfection. Though the wood carving was found in Kashmir from ancient times, yet it received "a stimulous' in the Sultanate period.[171]

The central Asian and Persian influences seem very evident on the jewellery of the Valley as well. Nur Jahan is said to have introduced more delicate varieties of jewellery in the Valley. However, the jewellery of Kashmir is unique in design and very minutely worked. These include ear-rings, necklaces, bracelets, anklets, amulets (ta'wiz) rings, rosary. (tasbih), tin or silver charm-cases and head bands etc.[172] The art of papier-mache was learnt by the Kashmiris from the persian and Central Asian Immigrants.[173] It includes numerous manufactures in which paper pulp is employed; pressed and moulded into various shapes. Lacquer, gold, silver and bright dyes are used to give a glaring finish to the articles so made. For example, pen-boxes, book-stands, picture-frames, shoap-boxes and trays etc. This art was known also as Kar-i-Kalamdani Kar-i-munakash (painted-ware), as these were its best specimens. Now this art is peculiar to Kashmir and was introduced into

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caps. He used to make caps by his own hand and had made cap-tailoring as his permanent means of livilihood. This view has been supported and substantiated by the author of "Bharistan-i-Shahi".

He says for example,

"(Syed Ali Hamadani) his excellency gifted a cap to Sultan Qutbu'd-Din from his special stock of caps."

Moreover, it is also reported that he had brought pashm from Ladakh with him when he came to Kashmir and introduced it's use in the preparation of shawls etc. It is also reported that the himself prepared socks from Pashmina and gave it, as a gift to Sultan Qutbu'd-Din Shahmiri. The cap which was gifted by Syed Ali to Sultan Qutbu'd-Din, remained after the death of the king in the custody of Sultan Sikandar, Sultan Zainu'l-'Abidin, Sultan Ali Shah, Sultan Haidar Shah, Sultan Hasan Shah Sultan Udham Shah and Sultan Fath Shah. These all rulers used to wear this cap under their royal crown for the sake of blessings and success. But Sultan Fath Shah made a deed before his death that the cap may be buried with his dead body in the grave. When the deed was affected, the rule of the Shah Miri dynasty ended with the of its 8th ruler i.e. Sultan Fath Shah. It is said that a dervish Maulana Muhammad Aani had Shah-i-Hamadan in his dream, who informed him that with the burial of his cap along with the body of Fath Shah signalled the end for the Shahmiri ruler"

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have been well-organised during the reign of Zainu'l-'Abidin.

Thus the chief industries of Kashmir included the manufacture of shawls, woolen cloth, paper machie articles etc. Besides these, wood-carving, stone-work, stone-polishing, glassblowing, gold-beating and carving, stone-work, stone-polishing, glass-blowing, gold-beating and willow-work were also carried on Mirza Haidar Dughlat wrote about these arts and crafts.

"In the whole of Mawara-ul-al-Nahar (the century beyond the river Oxus, i.e. Khorasan) except in Samarqand and Bukhara, these are nowhere to be meat with, while in Kashmir they are even abundant."

Though Sultan Zainu'l-'Abidin took "a series of measures" to encourage these crafts, and some of these were even introduced into Kashmir for the first time by him, yet the role played by Syed Ali Hamadani in facilitating this process can't be ignored. For example, the shawl industry was given a boast by his arrival towards the close of the fourteenth century. He encouraged some local weavers and the crafts men, who had come with him from Iran to manufacture this fine textile. Similarly, the ruler of the time, Qutbu'd-Din also patronised the industry."[175]

From the wool stage to its finish, more than fifteen families were connected with the various process of its manufacture. This industry has had been

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the Valley during the Sultanate period. The carpet industry was introduced into the Valley by Sultan Zainu'l-'Abidin pile carpets attained great perfection during Muslim rule. They were of floral design with mosques, flowers, blossoms, trees, hills, lakes, forests, wild animals etc. etc.[174]

The Gabba is a unique type of floor covering, prepared from old woollen blankets in a variety of forms and designs. N.K. Singh claims that the origin of this industry is not known, while as Mushtaqh Hamadani says that this industry was also introduced into Kashmir by Syed Ali .Hamadani.

Embroidery, is the most scattered artistic industrial handicraft in Kashmir. This industry is closely connected with the Shawl industry. Apart from the finest embroidering work on shawls, needle-work is done on silks, wool and cotton textiles, and hook-work (Jalik Duzi) and courser stuff and namadas. The main types of embroidery are:-

1. Suzani or tamboured work.
2. Amali.
3. Chikin-duzi
4. Jalik-duzi.

The designs used in embroidery are generally used on natural scenery, foliage, animal or insect life of Kashmir. The pattu (woolen stiff) industry appears to

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in establishing Karkhanas."[177] In order to make this course effective and viable, the emigrants, mostly Sufis and saints, inspired the Sultans to re-organise the shawl industry on the basis of the Central Asian Karkhana system, making it easier for the people to earn them livelihood and sustain themselves honorably. Only when the Kashmiris realized these benefits directly affecting them day to day life that they accepted enimasse the new religion brought by the emigrants."[178]

Abdul Ahad has mentioned two more factors which "paved the way for there organisation of shawl industry is Kashmir. First, the Central Asian Muslims, having lived in posh cities of Iran, Yarkand, Samarqand, and Isfahan, Hand refined testes which they wanted to later to through the revival of shawl industry though Karkhanas.

2nd, the Muslims wanting to engage themselves in some kind of economic activity, besides preaching Islam, could have not done better then establishing the Central Asian Karkhana with which they were thoroughly acquainted and in which some of them could have been easily employed, trained as they were invasions arts and crafts.[179]

This hectic interest of the central Asian Muslims in the Karkhana system resulted in the revival of art of shawl weaving on the basis of new production relations, and also enabled the Kashmiris to transform their society and institutions."[180]

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providing employment to a large number of people. Bernier rightly says:

".....What may be considered peculiar to Kachemira, and the staple commodity, that which particularly promotes the trade of the country and fills it with wealth, is the prodigious quantity of shawls which they manufacture, and which has given occupation even to the little children."

During my recent visit to Calcutta (January 2001), I was told by the shawl merchants of Kashmir, who sell their shawls by going door to door in Calcutta, that about 52000 Kashmiri people are dealing with this business in this city. There are thousands of people in Delhi and other parts of India, belonging to Kashmir who earn their bread by weaving the shawls and their sale afterwards. Shah-i-Hamadan made this industry well established in Kashmir. Abdul Ahad says:-

"The Muslims settled in the Valley, after having migrated from Central Asia due to persecution perpetrated upon them by Timur, Lent an active support to Karkhanas so as to make them functionally operative and economically viable."[176]

Moreover, "the Central Asian Muslim emigrants made themselves popular and acceptable among the masses through subscribing to an economic activity widely pursued by the people in the Valley. This helped them in propagating their creed more effectively, explaining thereby the help they rendered to the Sultans

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Zainu'l-'Abidin invited mechanics, artisans and craftsmen from Iran, Turan, Turkistan and Hindustan, and offered them good prospects and concessions to settle down in Kashmir. Zainu'l-'Abidin's patronage of various arts and crafts contributed very largely to the material progress of the century,[184] and considerably increased its reputation[185].

D N.Saraf says:-

"It is said that Mir Sayyid Ali of Hamadan, known as Shah Hamadan, who visited Kashmir for the second time in 1398 and stayed for over two years, encouraged some Shawl weavers to produce, fine textures, implying thereby that Shawl fabric was already being woven in Kashmir". Thus in the medieval period, the relations between Kashmir and Central Asia were once again established, resulting in a renaissance of cultural activities. The leader of this renaissance was Amir-i-Kabir, Syed Ali Hamadani, who is buried in the town ship of Kolab in the erst while Soviet republic Tajkistan. .....History testifies to the fact that the Oriental culture and arts and crafts were also introduced in Kashmir by him. He exerted a great Persian and Islamic influence on the customs, habits, dress, affairs and modes of worship of Kashmiris.

....."He converted Kashmir into a minor persia",[187].

Moreover, Mohammad Yousuf Teng, prof. Muhibul-Hasan, Hakim Ghulam Husayn Makhmoor

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Sultan Qutbu'd-Din's regime (1374-1389) witnessed the art of shawl weaving revived due to active cooperation of Syed Ali Hamadani, a well-known missionary. It developed considerably in the reign of Sultan Zainu'l-'Abidin who made elaborate arrangements to make it an industry of great economic consequences...."[181]

It is stated that the Syed helped Sultan Qutbu'd-Din in reviving the shawl industry. When he visited Kashmir in 1378, on his way from Turkistan he was provided with some Pashmina in Ladakh for the purpose of making socks. On reaching Srinagar presented some of it to the Sultan who was delighted enough to get it weaved into a shawl.[182]

The role of Sultan Zainu'l-'Abidin is 'undoubtedly important" in order to set in motion the shawl weaving. "It goes to his credit to re-organise it on a sound and massive basis after it had been retrieved by Syed Ali Hamadani from a state of decadence it had fallen into as a result of disturbed conditions obtaining in Kashmir before the commencement of the reign of Sultans."[183]

Sufi says:-

"It was, however, through the efforts of the great saint, Shah Hamadani, in the latter part of the fourteenth century, that the shawl, as we know it now was born in Kashmir."[184]

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started perishing. But when Syed Ali Hamadani and his companions came to Kashmir, he brought along with him a band of artisans and craftsmen, who provided a new lease of life to the moribund handicrafts of Kashmir"[188].

Mir Syed Mushtaqh Hamadani says:-

"When Amir-i-Kabir (Syed Ali Hamadan) came to Kashmir from Ladakh. He brought with him Pashm and after arriving here he got the processing of 'pashm' affected and started various varieties of pashmina work conducted. He prepared a pair of socks by his own hands from pashmina and gifted that to Sultan Qutbu'd-Din Shahmir" This was starting point of the usage of pashmina in various textiles in Kashmir and this industry got strong-hold here in the Valley. Thus Shah-i-Hamadan being a spiritual personage conbined an artist and craftsman incarnated in his self. He apart from providng the Kashmiris spiritual and religious training, benefited them with his expertise in economic matters. Salim Khan Ghammi says:-

"When Shah-i-Hamadan arrived to Kashmir from Iran, the lengthy period of the Kashmiris deprivation and economic bankruptcy ended, resulting in a glourious revolution in their lives."

Moti Lal Saqi says:-

"About the Shawl industry there is a famous view (of historians) that this fine and beneficial art was

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and other important researchers unanimously regard Shah-i-Hamadan and his mission as a prelude to the great advent of emergence of arts and crafts in Kashmir, as in its wake about 713 people belonging to various professions entered Kashmir Valley. This fact becomes more significant in the background that at that time there were about twelve thousand idol-makers present in the Valley. Since Islam does not approve of Idol-carving, these idol-makers would have been rendered jobless, if the Shah had not provided them with alternative professions. Syed Ali Hamadani facilitated their earning by encouraging them to take the profession of stone-carving and handicrafts by the agency of the numerous artisans, who had accompanied him to his expedition to Kashmir, apart from the preachers who came with him. As a result, these Kashmiri idol-makers were provided training in stone and slab-carvings, which were meant for placing on the tombs with the fine calligraphic inscriptions on them. In due course of time, these local artisans were able to absorb the niceties and subtleties of this new art. Now these stones and slabs were decorated with fine calligraphic inscriptions. Thus these people were provided a better alternative to their traditional professions.

Muhammad Shahban Nurpuri in his article

"Jalkduzi our Suzan Kari" says:-

"When Islam reached to Kashmir in fourteenth century, the old and well-established traditions had

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conduct to establish a system of good governance to be reckoned with. It is quite true that the art of paper-machie was introduced in Kashmir by the companions of Shah-i-Hamadan".

Mirza Haidar Dughlat does not include textile weaving in the given list of the specified arts and crafts. However, it does not at all mean that the Kashmiri artisans had, no knowledge about it. The fact remains that like other crafts, Kashmiris were famous for the inherent art of weaving the silk, cotton and woollen fabrics.[189] Never the less, Shah-i-Hamadan has given great boast to many such industries in Kashmir. However, Sultan Zainu'l-'Abidin's contribution towards the textile industry is particularly significant. It was during his reign that weaver's brush and loom were introduced in Kashmir, perhaps for the first time,[190]. After this time, the process of manufacturing the silk cloth on systematic lines was undertaken by various people.[191] Moreover, there are literary evidences which suggest that the Kashmiri weavers had attained proficiency in manufacturing the most popular woollen textiles of both rough and fine types[192]. For example, according to the official history of early Han dynasty, Hansu, ".....the inhabitants are skilled... at weaving woollens and at patterned embroidery[193] Kalhana also mentions that the Kashmiris wore woollen garments and rich amongst them usually wore fine woollen fabrics across their shoulders[194]. During the time of Syed Ali Hamadani and after him, the artisans, craftsmen and handi craftsmen who became famous included, Arah Kash, Ahangar, Ab - Rasan, Ashpaz,

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made prevalent in Kashmir by Mir Syed Ali Hamadani, who is regarded the founder of Islam in Kashmir. He came to Kashmir three times and was accompanied by religious scholars and expert craftsmen and artists of Central Asia, who settled down in Kashmir and made it their permanent abode. It is due to these craftsmen and artists that the Shawl industry was firmly established in Kashmir and made great progress which has rendered the world wonder-struck."

This research leads one to conclude that Mir Syed Ali Hamadani was not only a religious preacher and missionary, but a craftsman and artist at one and the same time. His efforts to make Shawl industry well-established in Kashmir has earned for it the epithet of "Kar-i-Amir" (the work introduced by Amir Syed Ali Hamadani). Therefore, he is regarded the founder of this industry in Kashmir.

Nishat Ansari says:-

"Though the cultural and commercial exchange between our valley (Kashmir) and the external world has remained in tact from very beginning with Samarqand, Tashqand and Bukhara in general. But so far the Kar-i-Qalamdan is concerned, it has reached to Kashmir from Iran. There is a narration in this regard that Mir Syed Ali Hamadani and the group of preachers who accompanied him, were well-versed with the arts and professions (like Kar-i-Qalamdan), which they made prevalent in the valley. By writing Zakhi-ratul-Muluk, he provided to the rulers of his time a code of

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period of Zainu'l-'Abidin that Khat-i-Diwani, Khat-i-Ru'qh, Khat-i-Reehan, Khat-i-Saroo, Khat-i-Shafeeah, Khat-i-Shakastah, Khat-i-Tugra, Khat-Ghubar, Khat-i-Kufi, Khat-i-Gulzar, Khat-i-Magrabhi, Khat-i-Muhaqiq, Khat-i-Makki, Khat-i-Madani, Khat-i-Mahi, Khat-i-Munhani, Khat-i-Nakhun, Khat-i-Naskh and Khat-i-Nastaleeqh, about two dozen beautiful and captivating calligraphic designs were developed. Though later on, from all these calligraphic forms only three forms of calligraphy remained in vogue i.e, Khat-i-Shikasta, Khat-i-Naskh, and Khat-i-Nastaliqh and these forms are still in use. Because in these calligraphic forms important and rare manuscripts, royal commands, classical poetical compositions, Reshinamahs, epic literature, important documents, religious and historical writings are preserved in various academic and literary centres, research libraries etc. Though it can't be claimed that in making all these art forms prevalent in the Valley, only Syed Ali was responsible single-handedly, however, These art forms owes its origin to him to a great extent as he initiated the process of assimilation of Persian culture and its various manifestations calligraphy included, in Valley[196].

Thus, Syed Ali Hamadani placed great emphasis upon earning one's own livelihood (Akl-i-Halal). He rejected the entire idea of charity for religious men or Sufi orders, because he feared that this would make them parasitical on society. He himself made his living by cap-making and encouraged his murids to do some work to earn their livelihood. Hamadani's commitment to crafts is linked with the establishment of handicraft

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Tilla Doz, Tabardar, Tibet baqal, Tarkash, Teerghar, Tahweeldar, Jalakdooz, Jildgar, Chobak Sawar, Chobkar, Charmighar, Hakak, Hejam, Khatat, Khusnawees, Kheemah doz, Khakroob, Dahqan, Rangsaz, Resham saz, Rangreez, Roshanghar, Zeensaz, Zargar, Zardooz, Zarkoob, Sangtarash, Soozan Kar, Shora Ghar, Shawl bauf, Shakhsaz, Saboonsaz, Sahaf, Tabeeb, Allaqa band, Aarq Kash, Qaleen Bauf, Qasab, Qali'e Ghar, Qabar kun, Khagazsaz, Kozahghar, Kishtiran, Kamangar, Kasht-Kar, Kundah Kar, Ghabbasaz, Gushtanghar, Gilkar, Mu'allim, Maimar, Meerab, Masaalchee, Mir-Shikar, Mangabat Kar, Muhar Kun, Naqashgar, Nadaf, Najar, Nageenasaz, Namdahsaz, Na'alband, Naqashi etc. etc.

Even the copper-works which are very common in Kashmir, resemble in their designing and tinning aspects to the copper-works of Hamadan, Kirman, Khatlan, Tabreez, Khurasan and are named after these places in Kashmir.. Copper-work and Silver-work is also attributed to Syed Ali Hamadani for its' origin. Nishat Ansri says:-

"If it is said that apart from being spiritual guide (Murshid-i-Ma'ani,) and holder of royal (spiritual) secrets, Shah-i-Hamadan was the first architect who introduced industry, arts and crafts and hand-i-crafts in the Valley, it will not be an exageration".[195]

The art of calligraphy was introduced in the Valley by Mir Syed Ali Hamadani and got its stronghold at various places of Kashmir. It was upto the

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the divine principles of state and its administration. He was a Prophet and a ruler. He established the first Islamic state in Medina[201].

Thus, Hamadani's political thought is a part of his general philosophy which is based on Shariah. Like al-Mawardi he led a political life and never kept him self aloof from socio-political situations of his time. The question of ultimate end was chief concern for him and it is this question which dragged him into the discussion of political concepts like state, ruler, types of citizens and rights and duties of citizens. He based, his politics on ethics like other Muslim theorists, and did not differentiate between the two"[202] It was by dint of Hamadani's constructive intervention that he brought reconciliation between the Kashmiri and the Tughlaq armies at Firoz pur in Punjab.

Afsar Khan included, perhaps, for the same reason, Sayyid among the "three pioneer political theorists of the period of Delhi Sultanate in their ethnic political discourses i.e. Fakhr Mudabbir, Zaiuddin Barani and Hamadani and says:

"This essential theme continued to fascinate political theorists and writers on ethics in Mughal times."[203]

"Zakhiratul-al- Muluk was not considered a standard text by the jurists and never served as a guide

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industries in Kashmir. His role in this respect was both motivational and exemplary.[197]

One of the significant aspects of Hamadani was despite being a Sufi working for the Kubrawi order, he did not make any attempt to shun politics or the government from his concerns of reformation. Hamadani, on the contrary, apart from writing on affairs of state, made personal contacts with the rulers of Kashmir. He had correspondence with Sultan Qutbu'd-Din, who became a disciple of him and wrote several verses in his honour. Before the departure of Sayyid Ali from Kashmir, the Sultan tried to persuade him to extend his stay in the Valley, but the Sayyid refused. However, he asked his disciple Maulana Muhammad Balkhi to guide the Sultan in matters pertaining to the Shari'a." Apart from taking active interpret in the economic affairs of the people[198]. Hamadani considers that it is the quality of government that most of the problems of the people are solved with its attention. He says that are should recommend cases of the people to those who one in government and are should not lose the recompense of such recommendations[199]. Sayyid Ali Hamadani provided "advices and guide-lines derived from the Quran and Sunnah, to the rulers for the smooth functioning of the state[200]." Hayat Amir equates Hamadani with Ibn Taimiyah in this respect. Hamadani holds the Prophet as the father of international politics and model of the statesmanship for (Bani-a-Siyasat-i-Aqwam) entire mankind. Prophet Muhammad taught entire humanity

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considered itself as "a form of prayer", created life in the Khanqah by keeping himself and his murids busy in some work during the day time, and thus .indirectly influenced the people in society and they also started engaging themselves in some work. On the other hand, he not only wrote a guide-book for the rulers, but practically guided the affairs of state. Thus, his role was not confined to the theological aspects only, but was well extended to the economic and political aspects of people as well. These details about the vitalist mission of Sayed 'Ali Hamadani were Warranted in the backdrop of our authors' criticism of the "quietism" and "escapism" of the Kashmiri Sufis. Became, though, the author acknowledges fully the role played by the Sufis and Rishis in the spread of Islam, he does not, however, ignore the other side of the picture. He says in this context.

"In spite of these benefits conferred by Sufism, it also played a reactionary role. Owing to its emphasis on other worldiness it popularised the philosophy of quietism and ascepism which was best represented by the Rishis of Kashmir. However, by the admission of alien practices and ideas, it became debased. The Ziarats and Khanqahs, with which the country was studded, became the centres of superstition and charlatanism. They began to be worshipped by the credulous masses who came there as piligrims to beseech the aid of the saints. The saint worship still plays an important part in the life of a Kashmiri, who

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in the country, or even in Kashmir, where it was written."[204]

But G.M.D Sufi writes that "It was a favourite book with scholars during the pre-Mughal regime in India" National Museum, New Delhi, the manuscript copy of Zakhiratul-al- Muluk, bears the seal of Shaikhul Islam, the Qaziul-Quzat of Aurangzebs' reign[199] (1658-1707 A.D) which shows that Qazi was consulting this book-[206]. Prof. Azizuddin says:-

"In the Oriental sections of libraries, museums and archives, I have visited in India, and outside, one or more manuscript copies of Zakhiratul Muluk, are available, while it is not the case with other works on political theory such as Adabul-al-Muluk, Fata - wa-i-Jahan-dari."[207] Zakhiratul-al- Muluk was also translated into Latin in 1825 and into French in 1829. Such a large number of manuscript copies and its translation in foreign languages indicate the popularity and importance of this work. In this way Hamadani influenced Indian Muslim political thinkers, Sultans and the Ulama in a subtle manner. It was under the influence of the teachings of Hamadani that Sultan Sikandar introduced Shari'a in the administration of Kashmir during his reign. It was he who for the first time created the post of Shaikhul Islam in Kashmir[208].

Thus, Sayyid Ali Hamadani influenced the economic life and its multiple activities in Kashmir, by stressing the need to earn by the lawful means, which he

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"The early Shah Mir period appears to have been devoid of all historical writing, and it was only from the reign of Sultan Zainu'l-'Abidin, which was characterised by great literary and artistic activity, that chronicles both in Sanskrit and in Persian began to be composed." [210]

However, the author has critically evaluated value of each source and also pointed out the flaws in different books from the chronological or topographical angles. For example, while the author appreciates, Kalhana's Rajatarangini, but quotes the statement of Stein about Jonaraja, who like wise Kalhana, called his book "Rajatarangini, that he was a man of "considerable attainments though apparently without much originality" [211]

However, the author endorses at the same time the usefulness of his "account of the social and political condition of Kashmir from 1150 to the accession of Shah Mir," which helps us "to understand the circumstances which led to the establishment of the Sultanate" He calls Srivara, who provides "a detailed account of the remaining years of Zainu'l-'Abidin's reign from 1459 to 1470" in his Rajatarangini, "a slavish imitator of Kalhana", quoting once again Stein. But according to our author, Srivara's book is the only contemporary source for the period it covers,", which has become the source book for the latter Persian chronicles.[213]

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is being constantly exploited by the pirs and their disciples." [209]

I don't think that such a depiction of the state of religious affairs can be done even to day, as has been rendered by the author. Despite, the apologies of several historians and the interpretation of these un-Islamic practices by the researchers, this depiction. Still holds ground and its objectivity can't be doubted at all. It is perhaps, for the same reason, that new researches have surfaced in light of this critical appreciation of the religious conditions of Kashmir.

Reliance On Original And Authentic Sources:-

Muhibbul Hasan has relied on the original and authentic sources for writing his book. He has painstakingly consulted the extant Sanskrit, Persian, Urdu and Arabic sources on the history of medieval Kashmir. The author was assisted by Dr. P.B. Chakravarti for translating the Sanskrit chronicles of Jonaraja, Srivara, Prayybhatta and Sukha into English. His attention was drawn to "the Arab geographical works which contain brief references to Kashmir". He was provided with the Photostat copies of manuscripts obtained from England, by profess A. Rashid and Nurul-Hasan.

Mentioning a very significant fact, the author draws our attention to the following aspects of the history writing in medieval period. He says:-

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scope of Sayyid 'Alis' Tarikh, he points out that this history gives the most fantastic account of the exploits of Sayyid Hasan, the son of Sayyid Tajud-Din, who had entered the service of Shihabu'd-Din. The author says that the conquest of Delhi, Agra, Lahore, Persia, Badakhshan, Kabul and other places outside India are attributed to him in this book. Despite, these fantastic accounts, the book is a valuable source for the religious history of the period. Moreover, it contains "an eyewitnes account of Mirza Haidar's rule in Kashmir", therefore, it is very important for the political history of Kashmir. However, it's chronology and topography is not that authentic in the view of the author.[216]

A very important source ac cording to of the author to study Kashmir history of medieval period is the Baharistan-i- Shahi, which deals with the history of Kashmir from the accession of Rinchana to 1614. According to the author "nothing is known about the author except that he was a Shi'ite, and was probably in the service of the Baihaqi Sayyids, for he describes their careers in greater detail than other chroniclers do."[217]. This is the only work, in the view of the author, which gives detail, about Yusuf Shah and Ya'qub Shah in excite and the manner of their death. Prof. Rafiqui, Prof. Ishaq Khan and many other scholars believe that the author of Baheristan-i-Shahi was a Shi'ite. Dr. Faruq Bukhari includes the author of Baharistan-i-Shahi among the followers of the Nurbakhshiya sect of Kashmir, along with the writer of Tuhfatul-al-Ahbab, who were the staunch supporters of Mir Shamsud-

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The author has fully utilized the all extant Sanskrit sources and has not remained to any source indifferent due to its' any short coming or flaws. For example while evaluating the last chronicle, written by Suka Pandit, which deals with the period from 1517 to 1596, the author says:-

"His work is not as useful as those of Jonaraja and Srivara. His topography is incorrect, he supplies few dates, and the sequence of events is sometimes wrongly given....."[214]

In the extant Sanskrit sources, the author has consulted apart from Rajataranginis of Kalhana, Jonaraja, Srivara, Suka Pandit, Rajavalipataka of Pra - Jyabhatta, Lokaprakasa written by several authors (like Ksemendra and others.)

The author has utilized the Persian sources, which were written before and after the conquest of Kashmir by the Mughals. He regards the sources, which have come down to us from the Mughal period as "original", as "their authors had passed their childhood and youth in the times of the later Shah Mirs and the Chaks; and who wrote either from personal observation or utilised the accounts of earlier authorities which are not known to exist." [215]

However, the author is very cautious in handling the Persian sources as he has been in case of the Sanskrit sources. For example, while mentioning the

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Ishaq, however brings a very important aspect of this book to fore. He says though the author is a Shi'ite, he still condemns the policy of Yaq'ub Shah towards the Sunnis. He does not like the manner in which Qazi Musa of Sopore was executed by the order of Yaqub Shah for not having recited the name of Ali in the Azan when ordered to do so by the Sultan"[227]

Apart from the Baharistan-i-Shahi, the author has availed the Tarikh-i-Kashmir by Hasan b. Ali Kashmiri, which is a short history of Kashmir from the earliest times to 1616, written at the request of Jalal-ud-Din Malik Muhammad Naji, the grandfather of Haidar Malik. However, Hasan bin. 'Alis' sources are the same as those of the author of the *Baharistan*. He has consulted also the chronicles written by Haidar Malik, who served Yusuf Khan Chak, for twenty four years and accompanied him in his exile to India after the Mughal conquest of Kashmir. This book is known as Ta'rikh-i-Kashmir, which Haidar Malik began writing in 1618 and completed it in 1620-21. However, this work, the Baharistan-i-Shahi and Hasan b. Alis' chronicle shows that their authors obtained information from the same sources. The sources of these three books are the Sanskrit chronicles of Jonaraja and Srivara, as well as the Persian accounts of Mulla-Ahmad, Mulla-Nadiri, Qazi Ibrahim and Hasan Qari. The author has consulted the following general books on the subject, beside the Sanskrit and Persian sources:-

The Tabaqat-i-Akbari by Nizamu'd-Din: The Tarikh-i-Firishta, Mohammad Qasim Hindu Shah Astrabadi, The Muntakhabu-t-Tawarikh by 'Abdu'l-

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Din'Iraqi.[218] However, Gh. Mohammad Bhat of Sumbarbug, has denied that the author of this book was a Shi'ite, and claims that he "was a Sunni" and belonged to the family of Mulla Hasan-ud-Din, who had migrated from Ghazani and was a disciple of Haji Ibrahim Adham" (III)[219]. In the same way, the name of the author, is not known as we are told by most of the scholars. In History of Srinagar[220], Prof. Khan calls the author of the book "anonymous". But in his Kashmir's Transition to Islam;[221] the same writer, claims that the author of Baharistan-i- Shahi was some Tahir. [222]. In the footnote the writer says "Baharistan-i-Shahi was written by Tahir, though it has wrongly been described as anonymous."[223] However, the writer has not come out with further details about "Mr. Tahir" . A renowned researcher on Kashmir history, Gh. Rasool Bhat is also of the same view, Perhaps, the attribution of the book to a Shi'ite is considered likely because it gives "full description of the activities of Mir Shams-ud-Din Iraqi." Moreover, no other chronicler has given so much importance to the role of the founder of the Nurbakhshiya order in Kashmir than the author of Baharistan-i-Shahi.[224] Moreover, for the later Shah Mir and the Chak periods he wrote from personal experience or on the basis of information he gathered from the older people[225]. In the same way, this chronicle gives the history of the Mughal conquest of Kashmir in an exhaustive manner. Moreover, this according to the author is the only work which relates in detail the life of Yusuf Shah and Ya'qub Shah in exile and the manner of their death.[226] Prof. Mohammad

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sources which Muhibbul Hasan has consulted on the life and activities of Syed Ali Hamadani, these include the Fatuhat-i-Kubraviya, written by 'Abdul Wahab in 1749,[233] (Research and Publication Department library, Srinagar, ff: 135a-b, 1366-37a Khulasatu'i-Manaqib, b. 90a, f. 136a, Jami, Nafahatu'l-Uns p-515, Riyazu'l-Arifin p-169, Habibu's Siyar, III, p-87, Tarikh-i-Kabir, pp-12-4, the Baharistani-Shahi, f. 24a, Hassan, ff. 109b-110a, Haidar Malik, f. 366 etc etc. However, the author, has also drawn heavily from the Asghar Ali Hikmat's article which was published in the Journal Asiatique, ccxi) as claimed by Prof. A.Q. Rafiqui. Therefore, the allegation of the learned Professor is not valid against Muhibbul Hasan. Not only this Prof. Muhibbul Hasan has not agreed with all the ideas of A.A. Hikmat. For example, he, with a clear reference to A.A. Hikmat, says:-

"A modern scholar also thinks that Sayyid 'Ali was a Shi'ite on the ground that in some of his poetic compositions he has extolled the virtues of 'Ali and his successors"[234] Considering this ground as an insufficient proof for declaring any person a Shi'te, the author brings a very pertinent fact to our notice i.e, "many Sunni saints have also written similar panegyrics, glorifying the family of the Prophet",[235] concluding this discussion, the author says:-

"Thus there is no sufficient evidence to support the view that Sayyid 'Ali was a Shi'ite; on the other hand, there is reason to believe that he was a Sunni

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Qadir Bada'uni, The Ma'asir-i-Rahimi by Khwaja 'Abdu'l-Baqi Nihawandi, The Majalisul-Salatain by Muhammad Sherif an-Najafi and many other important historical sources.

In the Biographies of saints, the authors has referred to the Khulasatu'l-Manaqib, which is a life history of Sayyid 'Ali Hamadani by Nuru'd-Din Ja'far Badakhshi, who was also one of the disciples of Syed Ali Hamadani. He refers also to another work by Ja'far Badakhshi, which contains a life of Sayyid Ali Hamadani i.e. Manqabatu'l-Jawahir written in about 1378.[228] The author also refers to the Majalisu'l-Muminin by Sayyid Nurullah Shustari, which gives a short account of the life of Sayyid Ali Hamadani apart from providing biographical notes on the eminent Shi'ite Muhammad Nurbakhshi[229]. The Fatuhat-i-Kubraviya written by 'Abdul Wahab in 1799) contains short sketches of the lives of Sayyid Ali Hamadani, Mir Muhammad Hamadani and other saints of the Valley. This book is basically important the part played by Nuru'd-Din Rishi and his disciples in spreading Islam in the Valley.[230]

However, Prof. A. Q. Rafiqui, thinks that the account of Saiyid 'Ali's life and activities is generally based on A.A. Hikmats' articles "less Voyages d'un Mytique person de Hamadan au Kashmir"[231] whose main source was in turn Sufi's Kashir. A.Q. Rafiqui, says that like Dr. Sufi, Muhibbul Hasan, too was carried away by legends.[232] But contrary to when, we see the

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manner. Dr. Parvez Azkai, Murawaj-i-Islam Dar. Iran-i-Sagheer, Ahwal wa Athar Mir Sayyid Ali Hamadani,[241] has discussed in detail the factors which led to the arrival of Syed Ali Hamadani to Kashmir. However, the author has tried to show that Syed Ali Hamadani were a Shi'ite and has traveled Kashmir only twice.[242] A special issue of a Persian Magazine "Darya" was published in 1994, from Khiyaban-i-Sa'adi Shirazi, Iran, in which a details about the birth place of Syed Ali and his death and account of his views on self-realization, Futut, etc. etc. has been given in a very artistic manner. Dr. Hayat Amir, The religious thought of Mir Saiyid Ali Hamadani,[243] has dealt with the Sufistic, ethical and political thought in a very lucid but detail manner. The writer has made a comparative study of Ghazali, Iban Arabi Ibn Taimiyah, Al-Jili and that of Sayyid Ali Hamadani in his book.

In Kashmir Main Islam, Manzar our Pas-i-Manzar, Dr. S. Mohammad Farooq Bukhari,[244] has devoted two lengthy chapters to the life and works of Sayyid Ali Hamadani and Mir Mohammad Hamadani. The learned Arabic and Islamic scholars has utilized here to fore neglected Arabic sources and English chronicles to explore new dimensions of research. He has categorically denied the theory that Sayyid Ali Hamadani left Iran for the fear of persecution at the hands of Taimur. Rather the author has shown the respectful attitude of the Taimur towards the Sadat. Moreover, the writer has proved with ample evidence the fact that Taimur's expeditions started much after the

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Muslim. In his work Zakhiratu'l-Muluk he extensively quotes the tradition on the authority of 'Aisha, the wife of the Prophet, and the early Caliphs. He has profound reverence for the first four Caliphs whom he regards, next to the Prophet, as the best of creation. In one place he strongly says that it is the duty of every Muslim to spread the principles of Sunnat va al-Jammat. Jafar Badakhshi.. says that he was at first a Hanafite, but later he became a Shafi'te." [236]

However, it can be said that apart from the books consulted by our author, after the publication of Kashmir Under the Sultans, some new books on Syyid Ali Hamadani have been published in Pakistan, Iran and Kashmir apart from the special issues of various journals on the life and achievements of Syed Ali Hamadani A recent publication by a Pakistani scholar, Muhammad Reyaz, Ahwal u Athar wa' Ash'ar Mir Sayyid 'Ali Hamadani,[237] extensively deals with the works of Sayyid 'Ali Hamadani written in a lucid style and simple Persian, the work also contains a useful discussion on some works of Sayyid Ali Hamadani. However, Prof. Ishaq, says that Reyaz's description of Sayyid 'Ali's rule does not contain any fresh insight.[238] In the same way Sayyida Ashraf Zafar his presented a systematic and detailed account of Sayyids' Ali's life, teachings and works.[239] Sayyed Husain Shah Hamadan, Mir Sayyid Ali Hamadani Persian Translation by Dr. Mohammad Riaz, Iran Pakistan,[240] has elaborated the arrival of Syed Ali in Kashmir and his moral, political and literary works and teachings in a comprehensive

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Baigh, in Role of Shah-i-Hamadan in Islamisation of Kashmir has dealt with various aspects of the personality of Sayyid Ali Hamadani, with reference to his role in Islamisation of Kashmir. He discussed also the indigenous response to the all invigorating Islamisation activities of the Sayyids, who accompanied the Sayyid and has convincingly proved that the Rishis of Kashmir were profoundly influenced by Shah-i-Hamadani.[252]

Dr. Yoginder Singh Sikand (Dr. Kabir Zaminzad) in his "The Role of Kashmiris Sufis in the promotion of social reform and communal Harmony,[253] has devoted more than ten pages to discuss the social and reformative activities of Mir Sayyid Ali Hamadani and his illustrious son Mir Mohammad Hamadani[254] and has discussed the factors which led to the Islamisation process in Kashmir and the great reformation which took place in it's wake. The Dean Students Welfare, University of Kashmir organised a seminar on Shah-i-Hamadan and later on published the proceedings of the seminar in form of a book Shah-i-Hamadan and Kashmir. In this seminar social, juristic, doctrinal and devotional aspects of Sayyid Ali's thought were discussed by the scholars and the relevance of the Saint was shown to modern day Kashmiri society in a very effective manner. Maulana Abdul Kabir Maulana Ghulam Nabi Hakeem and Dr. Hamid Naseem have written extensively on the contexts of Aurad-i-Fath of Shah-i-Hamadan.

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arrival of Sayyid Ali to Kashmir.[245] In recent years, the Jammu and Kashmir Academy of Art, Culture and languages has brought out few publications in Urdu on Sayyid Ali Hamadani. For, example, the Shah-i-Hamadan special of Shiraza Urdu, (monthly)[246] and Hamara Adab,[247] contain very important research articles on the life, thought and achievements of Sayyid Ali Hamadani. Prof. Shamsud-Din Ahmad, Shah-i-Hamadan, Hayat-our-Karnamih,[248] has written a very comprehensive, voluminous book on very important subjects pertaining to the arrival, influence and teachings of Sayyid Ali Hamadani. This is, in my opinion, the first book, written in lucid Urdu, which painstakingly covers almost all important dimensions of Shah-i-Hamadan's life and career. The author has categorically said that the Sayyid Ali Hamadani came to Kashmir three times and not once or twice. According to Professor Shamsud-Din Ahmad, Sayyid Ali Hamadani came to Kashmir first in 780 A.H, then in 783 A.H. and for the last time in the end of 785 A.H. or in the beginning of 786 A.H. The Professor says that the mission with which the Sayyid had arrived to Kashmir could only be completed when full attention was devoted to the missionary activities at various places of Kashmir. Therefore, the Sayyid's arrival to Kashmir times seems not only historically plausible, but logically quite consistant.[249] Farooq Bukhari also subscribes to the same view point.[250] Moreover, Prof. Shamsu'd-Din like Dr. Bukhari refutes the theory that Sayyid Ali Hamadani came to Kashmir to evade the persecution at the hands of Taimur.[151] Abdul Rashid

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Dr. Mohd. Altaf Tak published a book in English on Nooruddin, (Maktaba-Ilm-o-Adab). Prof. Hamidi Kashmiri published a book on the life and poetry of Shaykh Nooruddin and has analysed the literary aspects of his great Ashoks. There are several tracts and monographs on the life and message of Nooruddin, which have been brought out by Prof. Noorud-Din Zahid, Amin Kamil and others.

So far the Arabic sources of Muhibbul Hasan are concerned, we don't, however, find mention of few geographical works, attention of the author to these was drawn by Dr. Maqbul Ahmad. But Dr. Farooq Bukhari has consulted almost all the extant Arabic books and chronicles, which have any remotest reference to Kashmir, *Murawaju-Dhabb., Al-Bidayah-wa-Nihayah, Ya'qubi, Ah-Sanul-Taqasim fi Muarifatul-Aqali; 'Ayaibul-Hind, Fatuhu-al-Buludan, Maajamal-al Buludan, Al-Kamuli-al-Tarikh, Kitub-al-'Ibir wa Diwan al-Mubtada wal-al-Khabar, A thar-il-Balad wa-Akhbar-al-Ibad, Dawulul-al-Islam, AlDuraru-al-Kaminah, Al-Alaqat-Baynal-'Arab wal-Al-Seen* etc. etc. are some such Arabic sources, which have been utilized by Dr. Farooq Bukhari in order to bring to fore the important notions which are contained in these about Kashmir or the relations of Kashmir with the then existing Islamic world.

However, the sources which have been consulted by Muhibbul Hasan are the original and authentic sources, the consultation of which is quite indispensable

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In March 2001 (16-18), Jamia Millia Islamia, N. Delhi organised a three day seminar on the life and works of Sayyid Ali Hamadani, in which Iranian, Indian and Kashmiri scholars presented their papers on the diversified aspects of the career of Sayyid 'Ali Hamadani. Thus, scores of book, monographs, papers and research articles have been written by the scholars of Iran, India, Kashmir and West on Sayyid Ali Hamadani and his thought after the publication of *Kashmir under the Sultans*.

Moreover, Prof. Ishaq Khan has written a very illuminating and complete book on the role of Kashmir Muslim Rishis in the process of Kashmir's Transition to Islam.[255] In a sense, Prof. Khan has extended the work of his learned teacher and took it to the logical conclusion, when he wrote *Kashmir's Transition to Islam* and *Perspectives on Kashmir*. However, Prof. Khan has brought to light some heretofore, unknown dimensions of the Sufis and Rishis of Kashmir in his well circulated writings. He wrote a very illuminating book entitled *Experiencing Islam* which was published from Delhi, Lahore and at the same time Dhaka and contains subtler insights into the Sufi thought with special reference to Kashmiri mysticism. Asadullah Afaqi published two volumes on the teachings and poetry of Shaykh Nooruddin entitled *Ta'limat-i-Shaykhul-i-al-Alam* Afaqi Sons, Chrar Sharif, Kashmir, 1998, Ghulam Nabi Gawhar likewise, brought out several volumes on the life and works of Nooruddin. For example, 'Alamdar (a collection of papers), *Sahifai-Noor* Gulshan Publishers, Srinagar 1997.

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(Shaikh Nuru'd-Din) referred a life of retirement, and was accustomed to withdraw to caves for mediation and prayer.' But elsewhere, while describing the missionary activities of Saiyid 'Ali, he observes:- 'his work was continued by his disciples and his son Muhammad Hamadani and by Nuru'd-Din Rishi and his disciples.'[256]

These allegations leveled by Prof. Rafiqui can be easily not only refuted, but ostensibly contradictory statements can be very easily reconciled in light of the contents of the book. There is no doubt that in the earlier stage of his career as Rishi, the other worldliness, forced him to retire to a cave at Kaimah, the place of his birth. Nuru'd-Din's decision to lead an ascetic life seems to have been voluntary. It was influenced by his cravings for seeking the truth? The path of renunciation followed by the Rishis preceding him and their extreme ascetic habits must have also played an important part in shaping his out look on worldly life. Moreover, it is unlikely that the penance in the cave was undertaken at the command of any saint. Because, the following verses of the Shaikh don't suggest the same point:-

"The company of saints I did not keep, till right movement and youth slipped by?

Wrongly did I attack (myself) to the world; have thy play and let's go home". But later on he realised that renunciation of the world was not warranted for

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for any undertaking in any major project on Kashmir history. It is perhaps, for the same reason that after Muhibbul Hasan, all the writers and researchers have relied more or less on those sources for their research pursuits and all the subsequent scholars have refried to the author positively in this connection. Thus, Prof. Muhibbul Hasan was a trend-setter in writings on Kashmir History, especially on the Medieval history of Kashmir. It is because of this reason that *Kashmir Under the Sultans* is still very relevant source book on Kashmir History after it's several editions in different languages. No book has replaced it or decreased its reference value so far. Still it is the most authentic and widely quoted reference book on Kashmir History. So far the criticism of Prof. A.Q. Rafiqui is concerned, we have shown already the inadequacy of his allegation that Muhibbul Hasan's account of Sayyid Ali's life and activities is generally based on A.A. Hikmat's article. The second allegation of Prof. Rafiqui that like Dr. Sufi, Muhibbul Hasan too has been carried away by legends, is also beside the point. As we have discussed in the above pages, the author has not availed the legends about various historical episodes uncritically and without qualification. He rather seems very much careful in according any credence to legends what so ever. I think that it is not fair to equate the cautious rendering of Muhhibbul Hasan's historical events with that of the lax one of Dr. Sufi. There is another allegation that many statements of Muhibbul-Hasan are irreconcilable. For example, in one place he states "unlike Sayyid 'Ali Hamadani's and Shamsu'd-Din, he

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privileged. A dutiful householder will be crowned (with success on the day of judgement). The messenger of Allah (Muhammad) led a marital life and won the divine grace." So far as the influence of Sayyid Ali Hamadani on Nurud-Din is concerned, it can easily be showed that the son of the former, Sayyid Muhammad Hamadani, was very instrumental in influencing the mission of Nuru'd-Din. Thus, the mission of Sayyid Ali Hamadani was carried on by the Shaikh along with Mir Muhammad Khamadani. Prof. Muhammad Ishaq Khan says, for example:-

"The Sayyid Mir Muhammad Hamadani became the spiritual preceptor of the Shaikh when the latter was in his early thirties is attended to not only by documentary evidence, but also by a new trend in his thought which undoubtedly bears the deep imprint of Islam.[258]

In this manner the two statements of Muhibbul Hasan can easily be reconciled in a convincing manner. Regarding the life and works of Nuru'd-Din Rishi, another spiritual personality of Kashmir, who has exerted the greatest influence on the lives of Kashmiri people, especially the rural masses, the author has consulted the *Tazkira-i-Mashaikh-i-Kashmir,* by Baba Nasib, *Asraru'l-Abrar,* by Da'ud Mishkati, *Tarikh-i-Kabir* by Miskin and *Majmu'adar Answab Mashaikh-i-Kashmir,* by an anonymous author, apart from other works mostly the manuscripts like *Kalam-i-Shaikh al-Alam,* (R. P. D. 1756, 2993, 3184, 8279) Kalam -i-

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leading a pious life. While addressing his disciple, Nasr Baba, the Shaikh recollects an earlier time of spiritual ebb and flow, when his love was not perfect, and how he sought to assuage his anguish by retiring to the cave:

"Nasr Baba, it did not behave me to retire to the jungle;

I thought it was a supreme act of worship.

Lo! It was an ignominy.

But the truth was revealed only after introspection."

According to Professor Khan:- "the realization of the futility of renouncing the world thus marks the beginning of a final stage in Nuru'd-Din's religious career."[257]

After spending about 12 years in the cave, the Shaikh also realized that physical seclusion associated with asceticism, however, useful it may be in the inculcation of self-discipline, does not make up its essence. That rather lies in following in the foot steps of Prophet Muhammad (SAW).

"There are jackals and monkeys in the forests,
The caves are infested with rats. Those who offer prayers five times a day to wash off the dirt of their heart; Those who lead a family life, they are

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Hazrat-i-Shaikh al-Alam, Shaikh Nuruddin Nurani (R.P.D. 2993) *Malfuzat-i-Kashmiri,* (R.P.D, 639) *Kalam-i-Shaikh al-Alam* (complied by Mir Abdullah, R.P.D. 45,) *Gongal Nama* (R.P.D. 3192) and a number of published works.[259]

The same author has used the primary hagiographical works for this work which include *Tadhkirat al-'Arifin* by Mulla 'Ali Raina, *Rishi Nama, Qasidai-Lamiyya* and *Dastur al-Salikin,* Baba Daud Khaki, *Chilchilat al-'Arifin* of Ishaq Qari, *Rahat al-Talibin*of Hasan Qari, *Hidayat al-Mukhlisin* of Haidar Tulmuli, *Tadhkirat al-Murshidin* of Khwaja Miram Bazaz, *Nurnama of* Baba Nasib, *Tuhfat al-Fuqara of* Muhammad Murad Teng; *Khawariq al-Salikin of* Mulla Ahmad Sabur and *Fathut-i-Kubrawi-yya* of Abdul Wahab Nuri.[260]

"The hagiographies of Mulla Ali Raina, Miran Bazaz and Muhammad Murad Teng have not been utilised in modern Teng have not been utilised in modern writings on Sufism in Kashmir,[261] which is also true of Prof. Muhibbul Hasan' "Kashmir under the Sultans".

The author, has however, exhaustively consulted as many sources as were available to him in libraries of Director of Research and publication, Jammu and Kashmir Government, St. Zaviers' College, Calcutta, National library Calcutta, Calcutta University, the Asiatic society Calcutta, the Lytton Library Aligarh, A.M.U Aligarh, John Irwin of the Victoria and Albert Museum London.

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209. *Kashmir Under the Sultans*, op, cit, p-225.

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"It is possible that the carpet weavers; Ghaleecha sazi (Small Carpet weavers) might have come from Samarqand and Bukhara or Khurasan etc. while as the stone-carvers and painters (Sang Tarash, stone-carving and painting was existing from the early Hindu rule." (Tarikh-i-Buidshahi, p-341, Gulshan Publishers, SRIVARA. N. Date).

197. Several scholars have worked on his (Syed Ali Hamadani's) life and works but no attempt had been made to examine his attitude towards politics. state. government. rulers and other functionaries."
(S.M. Kamaluddin Husain, Sahib-i-Muwaddatul-Quraba, Maligaon, 1984). However, Dr. Hayat Amir has dealt with the political thought of Mir Syed Ali Hamadani in his book, "The Religioius Thought of Mir Syed Ali Hamadani, Al-Hamara publications, Delhi, 1992, pp. 137-167

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CHAPTER I

SOURCES

Before attempting a survey of the extant sources for the Sultanate period of Kashmir history, it is necessary to mention those contemporary authorities which have perished, for they were utilised by the later writers. The early Shah Mir period appears to have been devoid of all historical writings; and it was only from the reign of Sultan Zainu'l-'Abidin, which was characterised by great literary and artistic activity, that chronicles both in Sanskrit and in Persian began to be composed. Thus, Notthosoma Pandit described the life and achievements of Zainu'l-'Abidin in Kashmiri and called his work *Jainacarita*, and Bodhabhatta wrote a play in Kashmiri on the same theme.[1] Similarly Mulla Ahmad and Mulla Nadiri, the Sultan's court poets, completed their histories of Kashmir in Persian[2]. But unfortunately none of these chronicles is extant. Nor is there any trace of the histories composed by Qazi Ibrahim in the second reign of Sultan Fath Shah and by Mulla Hasan Qari in the time of the Chaks[3]. However, these accounts and those by Mulla Ahmad and Nadiri were utilised extensively by Haidar Malik, Hasan . 'Ali, Muhammad A'zam and other chroniclers.

We may divide the extant sources into five classes:--

(1) Contemporary Sanskrit. These consist of the four chronicles of Jonarja, Srivara, Prajyabhatta and Suka and another work commonly known as Ksemendra's Lokaprakasa

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like Rinchana's conversion to Islam and the arrival of Sayyid 'Ali Hamadani in Kashmir. However, the period from 1389 to 1459, during most of which the author himself lived, is treated in some detail. But being a courtier of Sultan Zainu'l-'Abidin, Jonaraja is inclined to exaggerate the virtues of his master and gloss over his failings. For the same reason he is prejudiced in favour of Sikandar, the Sultan's father, and places all the blame for the misfortunes of the latter's reign upon his minister Suhabhatta, whose faults he greatly magnifies. His topography is on the whole reliable. He also records the dates of the accession and death of each ruler correctly though he rarely mentions the dates of important events within each reign, a defect that is common to all the chronicles of Kashmir.

Jonaraja died in 1459; but after him his pupil Srivara continued the narrative from where he had left off, and called it *Jaina Rajatarangini.* Srivara was, like Jonaraja, attached to the court of Zain'-ul-'Abidin, and after the latter's death served Hasan Shah and Muhammad Shah. Besides being the author of this chronicle, he translated *Yusuf u Zulaikha* from Persian into Sanskrit and named it *Katha-Kautaka.*[6] In addition to being a scholar, a poet and a historian, he was also a musician, and was in charge of a section of the music department in the reign of Hasan Shah.[7] Srivara's *Rajatarangini* gives a detailed account of the remaining years of Zain 'ul-'Abidin's reign from 1459 to 1470 and of the reings of his successors till the accession of Fath Shah in 1486. His work is, however, that of

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(2) Contemporary Persian. These may be further sub-divided into (a) Kashmir Chronicles (b) General Histories of India (c) Mughal Histories (d) Central Asian Histories (e) Histories of the Delhi Sultanate (f) Biographies of Saints. (3) Later Persian Works (4) Kashmiri Literature and Folklore (5) European Accounts (6) archaeological Evidence.

I. CONTEMPORARY SANSKRIT AUTHORITIES

Kalhana in his *Rajatarangini* described the history of Kashmir from the earliest times to 1149-50. Jonaraja, two hundred years after him, continued the narrative down to the reign of Zainu'l-'Abidin and called it, like Kalhana, *Rajatarangin.* He was a scholar of Sanskrit and was attached to the court of Zainu'l-'Abidin, but he wrote his work under the orders of Siryabhatta, the superintendent of the courts of justice.[4] He was, according to Stein, a man of "considerable attainments though apparently without much originality."[5]

Jonaraja's *Rajatarangini* is the earliest extant and most important source for the history of Kashmir from 1150 to about 1459. It gives a brief but useful account of the social and political condition of Kashmir from 1150 to the accession of Shah Mir, and thus helps us to understand the circumstances which led to the establishment of the Sultanate. It describes the reigns of the early Sultans in a rather sketchy manner, passing over some of the important events

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incorrect; he supplies few dates, and the sequence of events is sometimes wrongly given. The second invasion and conquest of Kashmir by Mirza Haidar are barely mentioned[10]. The struggle for power between 'Idi Raina and Daulat Chak is not referred to, while the history of the Chaks and the Mughal conquest of Kashmir is described very briefly.

The *Lokaprakasa* seems to have been written by a number of persons including Ksemendra (d. 1066), who wrote only a portion of it. The mention of Shah Jahan in Book ii suggests that some parts were written as late as the seventeenth century[11] It has been suggested by Buhler that it is a Kosa;[12] but actually it is a kind of a note-book in which all kinds of things have been collected together[13]. The work appears to be both a Kosa and a practical handbook dealng with the various aspects of life and administration in Kashmir.[14] The language of the book is corrupt; its Sanskrit being mixed up with Persian and Kashmiri words

The *Lokaprakasa* consists of four parts. In the first part the author gives the names of the four principal castes along with those of sixty sub-castes, and the titles of government officers and ministers.[15] The second part, which contains bills of exchange, bonds, commercial contracts, official orders and so forth, is the biggest and most important of all.[16] It has, however, no connection with Ksemendra, and appears to have been written in the time of the Sultans and in the seventeenth century. The third part does not deal

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Jonaraja; and, as Stein observes, he "is a slavish imitator of Kalhana, not above reproducing whole verses from his predecessor. His text looks, in great portion, more like a cento from the *Rajatarangini,* than an original composition."[8] At the samt time, since he wrote his chronicle partly, as he himself says, "to free myselt from my endless obligations to him (Zainu'l-'Abidin), and partly because I am attracted by his merits,"[9] he is, like Jonaraja, inclined to exalt the virtues of Zainu'l-'Abidin and minimize his failings. But in spite of these defects, his work is very valuable, for it is the only contemporary source for the period it covers, and has, therefore, been drawn upon liberally by the later Persian chroniclers.

After the death of Srivara, Prajyabhatta composed his *Rajavalipataka,* describing the history of the period from 1486 to 1512. This work is much inferior to Srivara's. Its topography is very defective, and the chronology is incomplete. The history of the twenty-six years is described only in sixty-four *slokas* and in a confused manner. The important events connected with the struggle for the throne between Mohammad Shah and Fath Shah are left out.

The last chronicle was written by Suka Pandit, a pupil of Prajyabhatta, who named his work Rajatarangini after that of Kalhana, and dealt with the period from 1517 to 1596. His work is not as useful as those of Jonaraja and Srivara. His topography is

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accounts of earlier authorities which are not known to exist.

The *Tarikh-i-Kashmir* by Sayyid 'Ali is a history of Kashmir to the time of Yusuf Shah. The author was a Baihaqi Sayyid, and was related to the Shah Mir family through his mother who was the sister of Sultan Nazuk Shah. His father's name was Sayyid Muhammad, who served Mirza Haidar in his wars in Kashmir. Sayyid 'Ali also appears to have been in the service of Mirza Haidar, and took part in the last campaign which led to the latter's death.

The manuscripts of Sayyid 'Ali's *Tarikh* are very rare, but I have utilized the copy which has recently been acquired by the Research and Publication Department, Srinagar. Unhappily, however, the manuscript is defective at the beginning, and so it is difficult to say from which period the work began with the history of Kashmir. The existing manuscript abruptly commences with the arrival in Srinagar in the reign of Shihabu'd-Din of Sayyid Taju'd-Din, who was sent by Sayyid 'Ali Hamadani to find out if the conditions were favourable for him to visit Kashmir. It then gives the most fantastic account of the exploits of Sayyid Hasan, the son of Sayyid Taju'd-Din, who had entered the service of Shihabu'd-Din. He is said to have conquered not only Delhi, Agra, and Lahore, but also Persia, Badakhshan, Kabul, and many other places outside India. The work next describes the part played by Sayyid 'Ali Hamadani and his son Sayyid Muhammad in spreading Islam in the Valley, and their

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with any single subject as is the case with the first and second parts, but consists of a hotchpotch of things. It gives a list of synonyms of different varieties of fishes, birds and mice, and of salt, gold ornaments and gold coins. It also contains verses from the *Mahabharata* and satires on prostitutes and monks.[17] The fourth part begins with a satire on the Kayasthas, that is writers and physicians, and on Brahmans who had become Muslims. It also gives a list of the districts of Kashmir.[18]

Thus the *Lokaprakasa* contains useful material for the study of the social life and administration of Kashmir. Its only drawback is that it is difficult to know exactly when the different sections were written. Professor A. Weber has published the extracts of the work in *Indische Studien.* XVIII, pp. 289-412, and it is this that I have utilised.

2. CONTEMPORARY PERSIAN AUTHORITIES

(a) Kashmir Chronicles

With the exception of Sayyid 'Ali's *Tarikh-i-Kashmir*, which was written in the reign of Yusuf Shah,[19] all the extant Persian chronicles of Kashmir were composed after the Mughal conquest of the country. In spite of this they are very important and must be regarded as original sources, because their authors had passed their childhood and youth in the times of the later Shah Mirs and the Chaks, and wrote either from personal observation or utilised the

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extant histories of Kashmir in Persian, being written in 1590 and not in 1629 as mentioned in the catalogue by Aumer. The work does not mention the arrival of Sayyid 'Ali Hamadani in the Valley, although it was such an important event in the country's social and religious history. Moreover, the account of the period following Haidar Shah's death is very confused and unreliable. Nevertheless, the work is a useful source, for it describes those events in detail which have been omitted by the *Baharistan-i-Shahi,* Haidar Malik's *Tarikh,* and other Persian chronicles. I have consulted the MS. belonging to the K. Hof—und Staatsbibliothek in Muenchen. No other copy of the work, so far as I know, is extant.

The *Baharistan-i-Shahi* by an unknown writer is really a history of Kashmir from the accession of Rinchana to 1614, the pre-Islamic period being dismissed only in a few pages. Nothing is known of the author except that he was Shi'ite, and was probably in the service of the Baihaqi Sayyids for he describes their careers in greater detail than other chroniclers do, and is almost fulsome in his adulation of their piety, courage, and generosity. The sources for his history are the Sanskrit chronicles of Jonaraja and Srivara as well as the Persian accounts of Mulla Ahmad, Mulla Nadiri, Qazi Ibrahim, and Hasan Qari. For the later Shah Mir and the Chak periods he wrote from personal experience or on the basis of information he gathered from the older people.

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relations with Qutbu'd-Din and Sikandar respectively. It also throws light on the policy of Sikandar towards his non-Muslim subjects, but it does not refer to the political events of his reign. However, the history of Zainu'l-Abidin and Hasan Shah is described in some detail, although Haidar Shah's reign and the civil war between Muhammad Shah and Fath Shah is dismissed only in a few lines. But perhaps the most valuable portion of the book is that which deals with Mirza Haidar's career in Kashmir, for the author relates the events on the basis of personal observation. As regards the Chak period, with the exception of the controversy over the execution of Yusuf Aindar which is briefly given, it is practically passed over. The remaining part, covering over one-third of the book, contains biographical sketches of the Sufis and Rishis who flourished during the Sultanate period. The work is thus valuable for the religious history of the period. For the political history it is important because it is the earliest Persian chronicle of Kashmir known to exist, and is based on Qazi Ibrahim's *Tarikh-i-Kashmir* and other works which are lost. But its chief merit is due to the fact that it contains an eye-witness account of Mirza Haidar's rule in Kashmir and the manner of his death. The work is not of much value from the point of view of chronology and topography.

The *Tarikh-i-Kashmir* by an anonymous writer is a history of Kashmir from the earliest times to the reign of Shamsu'd-Din II. Based on the Sanskrit chronicles and earlier Persian accounts, it is one of the earliest

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Hasan Shah's reign; and it is for this period that his history is valuable.

The most well-known Persian history of Kashmir is that of Haidar Malik, the son of Hasan Malik of Chadura, which was the family's hereditary seat. He descended from Ramacandra, the commander-in-chief of Suhadeva, and his family played an important part during the Sultanate period. He himself served Yusuf Khan Chak, the son of Husain Shah, for twenty-four years, and accompanied him in his exile to India after the Mughal conquest of Kashmir. He fought side by side with Yusuf Khan, who was employed by Akbar to crush the refractory chiefs. When Jahangir became emperor he granted Yusuf Khan a jagir in Bengal and sent him with Qutbu'd-Din to suppress Sher Afgan. After the latter was killed, Haidar Malik gave protection in his own house to Sher Afgan's wife Mihru'n-Nisa, the future Nur Jahan. When Yusuf Khan died Haidar Malik entered the service of Jahangir, who conferred upon him the titles of *Chaghatay* and *Raisu'l-Mulk.*

Haidar Malik began writing his *Tarikh-i-Kashmir* in 1618 and completed it in 1030/ 1620-21. A study of this work, of the *Baharistan-i-Shahi*, and of Hasan b. 'Ali's Chronicle shows that their authors obtained information from the same sources. But in addition, Haidar Malik records many of the old traditions preserved in his own family. So far as the Chak period is concerned Haidar Malik was himself a witness to many events, being a young man at the time, though he

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The *Baharistan-i-Shahi* is written in an ornate and verbose style. It gives occasionally the *Laukika* dates along with the *Hijra* dates. The history of the Shah Mirs up to the reign of Hasan Shah is briefly narrated, and important events like the revolt in Lohara against Qutbu'd-Din, the Regency of Queen Sura and the civil war during the reign of Zainu'l-'Abidin are omitted. Sultan Haidar Shah is dismissed in a few lines, while there is no mention of the political events of Hasan Shah's regin. The period from Muhammad Shah onwards is, however, treated in detail. The history of the Mughal conquest of Kashmir is also exhaustively given, and is a useful supplement to and check upon the Mughal accounts. Moreover, this is the only work which relates in detail the life of Yusuf Shah and Ya'qub Shah in exile and the manner of their death. Thus, in spite of its defects, the *Baharistan-i-Shahi* is a very important source.

The *Tarikh-i-Kashmir* by Hasan b. 'Ali Kashmiri is a short history of Kashmir from the earliest times to 1616, written at the request of Jalalu'd-Din Malik Muhammad Naji[20], who was anxious to preserve a record of the achievements of his ancestors. Hasan b. 'Ali's sources are the same as those of the author of the *Baharistan.* His account also suffers from the same limitations as does the *Baharistan.* In addition he omits altogether the history of the later Shah Mirs and the Chaks, and makes only a casual reference to Ya'qub Shah's submission to Akbar. He, however, gives a detailed history of the Sultanate period up to the end of

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does not say. Moreover, since his account of Kashmir forms part of his general history of the provinces of the Mughal Empire, it is not detailed. His chronology is also defective and it is not always possible to identify the names of persons and places mentioned in his work.

The *Ta'rikh-i-Firishta* by Muhammad Qasim Hindu Shah Astrabadi known as Firishta also contains a chapter on Kashmir. But is mostly follows the *Tabaqat-i-Akbari,* and has little new information to offer. The description of the agriculture, religion and buildings of Kashmir is based on the *Ta'rikh-i-Rashidi.*

The *Muntakhabu't-Tawarikh* by 'Abdu'l-Qadir Bada'uni does not deal separately with Kashmir, but refers to it in connection with the account of Akbar's reign. The work furnishes useful information about Akbar's relations with the Chak rulers. There are also occasional references to eminent saints and literary figures of Kashmir.

The *Ma'asir-i-Rahimi* by Khwaja 'Abdu'l-Baqi Nihawandi completed in 1616 is a life of 'Abdu'r-Rahim Khan-i-Khanan, but it also contains a section on the history of Kashmir. It is, however, based on the *Tabaqat-i-Akbari* and does not add to our knowledge.

The *Majalisu'l-Salatin* by Muhammad Sharif an-Najafi completed in 1628-29 is a brief history of India. A portion of the work gives a detailed account of Rinchana's conversion to Islam. I have consulted Br. Mus Add. 30,779 which is an English translation of

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does not mention the part he played in them. He writes in a simple lucid style; his topography is correct, though his chronology is not reliable. Just as the author of the *Baharistan* exalts the achievements of the Baihaqi Sayyids, so does Haidar Malik eulogise the wisdom and courage of his grandfather, Malik Muhammad Naji. He was a Shi'ite, but he writes dispassionately and freely criticises Ya'qub Shah for his intolerant policy towards the Sunnis. His account of the reign of the Chak Sultans, particularly of their attempts to repel the Mughal invasion, is detailed and valuable. Unfortunately he does not describe the life of Yusuf Shah and Ya'qub Shah in captivity or of their last days. Of the three manuscripts of Haidar Malik's *Tarikh* that I have consulted, the India Office copy gives the most detailed account of the Shah Mir and Chak dynasties. The copy in the Research and Publication Department, Srinagar, is only an abridgement, while the copy in the Bibliotheque Nationale, Paris, is an abridged redaction, and sometimes differs in chronology and factual details from the other manuscripts.

(b) *General Histories of India*

The *Tabaqat-i-Akbari* by Nizamu'd-Din[21] contains a section dealing with the history of Kashmir from the earliest times to its conquest by Akbar. Nizamu'd-Din based his account on two sources: The *Ta'rikh-i-Rashidi* by Mirza Haidar and the *Ta'rikh-i-Kashmir*. But who is the author of the latter work, he

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25. It throws light on Sikandar's relations with Timur when the latter invaded India. It also gives a brief description of the geography and people of Kashmir. Similarly in the *Malfuzat-i-Timuri,* which is said to have been written by Timur himself, there are references to his relations with Sultan Sikandar and to the topography of the Valley.

The *Ta'rikh-i-Rashidi* by Mirza Haidar Dughlat, a cousin of Babur from his mother's side, is a history of the Mongol rulers of Mughalistan and Kashghar, completed in 1546. Mirza Haidar twice invaded Kashmir: once from Kashghar in the early part of 1533, and again from Lahore in November 1540 when he conquered the Valley and ruled for ten years. He describes his first invasion in detail, but the account of the second invasion and of his administration of Kashmir is very meagre. He, however, gives an interesting picture of the buildings, agriculture, religion and arts and crafts of Kashmir as he found them. It was unfortunate that his life was cut short by the rebellion of the Kashmiri nobles, otherwise he might have left us a more valuable account of Kashmir.

(e) *Histories of the Delhi Sultanate*

Although Kashmir had cultural, commercial and political relations with India during medieval times, yet the chronicles of the Delhi Sultanate very rarely make any reference to them. The *Tarikh-i-Mubarak Shahi* by Yahya b. Ahmad b. 'Abdu'llah Sirhindi only mentions the conflict between 'Ali Shah of Kashmir and Jasrat

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the extracts relating to Kashmir.

The *Haft Iqlim* by Amin Ahmad Razi is a geographical encyclopaedia completed in 1594. It gives a brief account of Mirza Haidar's conquest of Kashmir, and makes short notices of some Kashmiri poets, saints and rulers. There is also a reference to the shawl industry of the Valley.

(C) Mughal Histories

The *Akbar-nama* by Abu'l-Fazl makes a brief but useful reference to Mirza Haidar's rule in Kashmir. He, however, describes in detail the invasions of Kashmir by Abu'l-Ma'ali and Qara Bahadur, the relations of the Mughals with the Chaks, and the final conquest of the Valley by Akbar. His chronology and topography are correct, and, barring a few lapses, his account is generally truthful. His *A'in-i-Akbari* is an important authority because of the light it throws on the topography of the Valley and the life of the inhabitants.

The *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri* by the emperor Jahangir contains useful references to the history, habits and customs of the people of Kashmir.

(d) *Central Asian Histories*

The *Zafar-nama* by Sharafu'd-Din 'Ali Yazdi is a history of Timur and Khalil Sultan completed in 1424-

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of how Shamsud'd-Din came to the Valley, the obstacles he encountered in propagating his faith, and the success that attended him in Kashmir and Baltistan. However, in his zeal to represent the saint as the champion of Islam he is in the habit of indulging in imaginary accounts of his iconoclastic activities. Nevertheless, his work is valuable because of his iconoclastic activities. Neverthless, his work is valuable because it contains the history of Islam's progress in Kashmir, brief notices of Kashmir's political history, and of the social life and beliefs of its inhabitants . The copy of the MS. I have consulted is in the private collection of Agha Sayyid Muhammad Yusuf, the Shi'ite *Mujtahid* of Kashmir, who is a descendant of Mir Shamsu'd-Din. He very kindly placed the work at my disposal during my visit to Kashmir in the summer of 1952. I was told by the Agha Saheb that there is another copy of the MS. In the possession of his relations who are at Skardu.

The *Hilyatu'I-'Arifin* is a biography of Shaikh Hamza Makhdum by Khwaja Ishaq Qari, his disciple . Although the work is mostly concerned with the miracles performed by the Shaikh, it throws some light on the social conditions in the Valley. The *Tazkiratu'I-'Arifin* by Mulla 'Ali Raina completed in 1587 is another biography of Shaikh Hamza which is useful for the study of the social and religious life of the period .

The *Majalisu'I-Muminin* by Sayyid Nuru'llah Shushtari, which contains biographical notes on eminent Shi'ites, gives a short account of the lives of

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Khokar. *Ta'rikh-i-Da'udi* and *Ta'rikh-i-Jahani* describe A'zam Humayun's relations with Mirza Haidar and the Kashmir nobles at the time of his revolt against Islam Shah. But they wrongly state that A'zam Humayun was killed in an engagement with the Kashmiri forces while Mirza Haidar was still alive. Moreover, they do not throw any light on the relations between the Kashmiri nobles and Sher Shah.

(f) ***Biographies of Saints***

The *Khulasatu'l-Manaqib*[22] is a life of Sayyid 'Ali Hamadani by Nuru'd-Din Ja'far Badakhshi, one of his disciples. But the work does not refer to any of the activities of the Sayyid in Kashmir. The MS. of the work I have consulted was originally in the Berlin Library, but since the last World War it has been in the Tubingen University Library, the Librarian of which very kindly sent me a photostat copy. Another work by Ja'far Badakhshi, which contains a life of Sayyid 'Ali Hamadani, is *Manqabatu'l-Jawahir* written in about 1378.

Tuhfatu'l-Ahbab, written about the middle of the fifteenth century, is a life of Mir Shamsu'd-Din who introduced the Nurbakhshiya teachings into Kashmir. The author's name is not known but his father was an important disciple of Shamsu'd-Din and he himself was a fanatical Nurbakhshiya. He was a child when Shanmsu'd-Din arrived in the Valley, but he grew up in close association with him. He gives a detailed account

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influence of the religious factor in the civil wars . The *Waqi'at-i-Kashmir* by Muhammad A'zam was completed in 1747. It is an abridgement of the earlier works. But in addition to the political history it contains a useful account of the saints and scholars who flourished in Kashmir during the Sultanate period.

The *Gauhar-i-'Alam* by Badi'u'd-Din Abu'l-Qasim is a history of Kashmir from the earliest times to 1786. The author claims to have consulted the *Nur-nama* and the accounts by Hasan Qari and Muhammad A'zam. But he does not bring to light any new facts. His style is cumbersome and ornate, and he occasionally makes statements which are not supported by any authority.

The *Hashmat-i-Kashmir* by 'Abdu'l-Qadir Khan completed at Banaras in 1850 is a history of Kashmir based mainly on the *Gauhar-i-'Alam.* It also contains brief notices on Tibet, Badakhshan, and the neighbouring countries. Besides the *Hashmat-i-Kashmir* there were many other works written in the nineteenth century[23]. But with the exception of the *Ta'rikh-i-Hasan* by Pir Hasan Shah (d. 1898) none of them is important, all being abridgements of Haidar Malik's history. The *Ta'rikh-i-Hasan* consists of four parts. The first deals with the geography of Kashmir, its Muslim monuments, its castes, tribes and religious sects. The second describes the history of Kashmir from the earliest times to the author's own days. The Hindu period is based upon Kalhana's *Rajatarangini;* the section on the Sultans has been drawn mainly from

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Sayyid 'Ali Hamadani and Muhammad Nurbakhsh, and briefly mentions how the teachings of the latter were introduced into Kashmir and Baltistan.

3. LATER PERSIAN WORKS

(a) *Kashmir Chroncles*

The *Ta'rikh-i-Kashmir* by Narayan Kaul 'Ajiz, a Kashmiri Brahman, is a history of Kashmir from the earliest times to 1710, the year it was completed. As it is only an abridgement of Haidar Malik's chronicle, it does not contain any new information.

The *Nawadiru'l-Akhbar* by Aba Rafi'u'd-Din Ahmad is a history of Kashmir completed at Shahjahanabad in 1723. The author's ancestors came from Balkh but he was himself a Kahmiri by birth . His work deals with the Hindu period very briefly, but describes the history of the Sultans in detail. It closely agrees with the *Baharistan-i-Shahi* and Haidar Malik's history, but supplies additional information regarding the improvements effected by Mirza Haidar in Kashmir, and also contains more details, though not always correct, regarding the attitude of the Sultans towards the non-Muslims. Its chronology is however incorrect; it confuses Yusuf Shah Chak with Yusuf Khan, the son of Hussin Shah, and its account of the life of Yusuf Shah and Ya'qub Shah, whom it always calls Yaq'ub Khan, is not reliable. The importance of the work is that it preserves the Sunni traditions of the Valley, though it makes the mistake of over-estimating the

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disciples in spreading Islam in the Valley, and gives interesting accounts of religious discussions between the Brahman priests and Muslim saints. Another work known as the *Majmu'a dar Ansab Masha'ikh-i-Kashmir* gives a short account of how Islam spread in the Valley from the time of Rinchana to that of Musa Raina, with useful sidelights on the political events of this period. The *Futuhat-i-Kubraviya* written by 'Abdu'l-Wahhab in 1749 describes the progress of Islam in Kashmir from the time of Rinchana to that of Akbar. In addition it contains a brief history of the Sultans of Kashmir and short sketches of the lives of Sayyid 'Ali Hamadani, his son Muhammad Hamadani, and other saints of the Valley. Other *Tazkiras* which contain occasional historical notes and references to social life are the *Asraru'l-Abrar* by Da'ud Mishkati written 1653; the *Khawariqu'l-Salikin* known as *Ta'rikh-i-Hadi* written in 1697-98; *Nur-nama'* a life of Nuru'd-Din Rishi by Baba Nasibu'd-Din Ghazi composed in 1630-31; and the *Tarikh-i-Kabir* by Mu'inu'd-Din Miskin published in 1904.

4. KASHMIRI LITERATURE AND FOLKLORE

Medieval Kashmir was rich in Kashmiri poetic literature, but unfortunately only a small portion of it has come down to us. The sogns of Lalla Ded have been collected and translated by Barnett and Grierson; a few mystical verses of Nuru'd-Din Rishi and the lyrics of Habba Khatun have been edited by J.L. Kaul. They throw some light on the social and cultural life of medieval Kashmir. The folklores and traditions of the Valley collected by Lawrence, Knowles, Grierson and many

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the *Baharistan-i-Shahi,* though works of Haidar Malik, Nizamu'd-Din, Abu'l-Fazl and others have been consulted. The third part contains the biographies of sainst based on *Tazkiras* and local traditions. The last part is chiefly concerned with Persian poetry as it flourished under the Sultans and the Mughal Emperors. All the volumes are useful, and are written in a clear, simple, lucid style.

(b) *Mughal and Provincial Histories*

Among the later Mughal histories none is important for our study except the *Ma'asiru'l-Umara'* by Samsamu'd-Daula, which contains brief notes of the invastions of Kashmir by Mirza Haidar and Abu'l Ma'ali, and of its final conquest by Akbar. Of the provincial histories mention may be made only of three; The *Ahwal-i-Kishtwar* written in 1882-83; the *Ta'rikh-i-Rajgan-i-Jammu* or *Rajdarshani* composed in 1847; and *Ta'rikh-i-Rajgan-i-Rajouri* published in 1907. All these works make occasional references to the Valley; but since most of their accounts are legendary, they are not of much historical importance. It is strange that although Jammu, Kishtwar and Rajauri were for long periods subject to the authority of the Sultans of Kashmir, these chronicles completely ignore this fact.

(c) *Biographies of Saints*

The *Tazkira-i-Mashaikh-i-Kashmir* by Baba Nasib relates the part played by Nuru'd-Din Rishi and his

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other hand, the architectural remains are too few; most of the palaces, mosques, and *khanqahs* erected by the Sultans having been destroyed in the course of civil wars and foreign invasions. With the exception of the Mazar-i-Salatin and the tomb and mosque of Madani, which are in a very bad state of preservation, the other monuments that we see today have either been rebuilt or renovated in later times. The few inscriptions that have been discovered do not substantially add to our historical knowledge.

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European travellers also give us a glimpse of emanners and customs of the inhabitants.

5. EUROPEAN ACCOUNTS

No European ever visited Kashmir during the time of the Shah Mir and Chak rulers. The first Europeans to set foot on Kashmir soil were Father Jerome Xavier and Benedict de Goes who arrived in the company of Akbar in 1597. They have left an account of their impressions which, though useful, are very sketchy. The description of Kashmir by Francisco Pelsaert is also very brief. But Bernier, who visited the Valley with Aurangzeb, relates in detail the social and economic life of the people. The description of Father Desideri is useful as it furnishes information about the trade of Kashmir, while the account of Father Fryre is important for the light it throws on the social life of the people. The accounts of European travellers, who visited Kashmir in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, are valuable because they contain earlier traditions of the country, and help us in identifying some of the old localities which have either disappeared or changed their names.

6. ARCHAEOLOGICAL EVIDENCE

The archaeological evidence for this period is very scanty. The coins which have been found furnish us only with the names and titles of the Sultans, but they are not of much chronological importance. On the

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17. *Ibid*, 348 sqq.

18. *Ibid*, 369 sqq.

19. Sufi, i, p. xl, says that the work was written in Muhammad Shah's first reign, but this is incorrect, for it gives the names of Muhammad Shah's successors and of all the Chak rulers up to Yusuf Shah. The MS. does not bear any date of its composition, but from the absence of the names of Sayyid Mubarak and Lohar Shah it appears that it was completed early in 1579 during Yusuf Shah's first reign, which lasted for about two months.

20. He is evidently Haidar Malik's grandfather. In Haidar Malik's chronicle he is styled as Kamalu'd-Din. But in the present work (f.3a) he is called Jalalu'd-Din. This is probably due to a mistake of the copyist.

21. Baini Prasad says in his translation of T.A.,iii,p.XXX, that the *Tarikh-i-Kashmir* which Nizamu'd-Din consulted was the Persian translation of the *Rajatarangini.* But this is only half the truth. Nizamu'd-Din must have also consulted, in addition, the Persian chronicles, for his chronology and some of his details do not agree with the Sanskrit chronicles. Moreover, for the period of the later Shah Mirs and the Chaks some Persian chronicle was necessary, because Suka wrote in 1596, and the author of T.A. could not have utilised his work. From a close study of both T.A. and the Munich MS., it appears that Nizamu'd-Din drew extensively from the later chronicle.

22. There are other works besides which throw light on 'Ali Hamadani's life. Some of them have been discussed in this chapter, while others have been mentioned in the Bibliography. For more details see *Yaghmā, iv, No . 8 pp. 337 sqq;* and *Journal Asiatique,* ccxl, pp. 53. Sqq.

23. Storey, Bibliographichal Surrvey of Persian Literature, Section ii. Face. 3, pp. 684-7, gives the names of many such works. But all of them are mere summaries of Haidar Malik' Ta'rikh.

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REFERENCE

1. Sriv., Bk. i. chap, v, Nos. 37 sq.; Munich, f. 72b.

2. These works have been referred to in all the Persian histories of Kashmir. T.H., i, f. 152a, also refers to other works like the *Tari'kh-i-Qazi Hamid* and *Muntakhabu't-Tawarikh* by Hasan Beg.

3. Qari's chronicle is no longer extant. Crawford, *Bibliotheca Lindesiana,* wrongly considers MS. No. 518 to be Qari's work. Actually it is A'zam's *Waqiat-i-Kashmir,* and Qari's name has been mentioned in the MS. (f.4b) only as an authority. Storey, on the other hand, makes the mistake of regarding it as Hasan b. 'Ali's chronicle.

4. Jonar . (Bo. ed).. No. 11.

5. Stein, ii. 373.

6. 1.Sufi, Kashir, i, 167.

7. Sriv.,p. 231.

8. Stein, ii, 373.

9. Sriv,. p, 99.

10. Indische Studien, xviii, 298,300.

11. *Ibid*, 337, 341

12. *Ibid*, 292.

13. *Ibid*, 292-3

14. *Stein*, ii. 376

15. *Indische Studien*, xviii, 302 sqq.

16. *Ibid*, 342 sqq.

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CHAPTER II

THE GEOGRAPHY OF KASHMIR

THE influence of geography on the social and political history of Kashmir has been very profound. The rivers and springs, soil and climate of the Valley have all played an important part in shaping the character and life of its people throughout the centuries. But none of the natural features have exerted a more direct influence on the history of the country than the great mountain ramparts that encircle it[1]. It is to these mountains that the Valley owes its rivers and its streams, its rains and the fertility of its soil, and even its floods and famines. It is also to them that it owed not only immunity from foreign invasions for long periods, but also "a historical existence of marked individuality."[2]

Extent and Boundary

Kashmir is situated in the Western Himalayas at an average height of 6,000 ft. above the sea. It resembles a great irregular oval consisting of a similarly shaped level vale in the centre with a ring of mountains around it. The flat part of the country measures about eighty-four miles in length from the south-west to north-east, while its width varies from twenty to twenty five-miles. Its area has been estimated at 1,800 or 1,900 sq. miles. It is surrounded by an unbroken ring of high mountains, and, reckoned from the summit lines of these ranges, the length of the irregular oval enclosed by them is 116 miles, with a width varying from forty-Five to seventy-five miles. The whole area within the

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as one great range. A few miles west of the spot from which the eastern boundary spur branches near the Zoji-La, another minor range branches off. This runs due west for about 100 miles at an elevation of from 1,200 to 1,300 ft. with a breadth varying from twelve to twenty-four miles, and forms the northern boundary of the Valley, separating the Jehlam on the south from its important tributary, the Kishanganga on the north. After reaching 75°15′ E, the ridge gradually curves round to the south until it joins the Kajnag Peak, north-west of Baramula[3], thus forming the north-western boundary of the Valley. The mountain-ring, which surrounds the Valley, has only one gap. This is the narrow gorge at Baramula through which the Jehlam escapes to the plains of the Punjab, and thence to the sea.

The natural boundaries of the Valley agree closely with its frontiers. But to have a more precise idea about the extent of the country, it will be useful if we take a brief notice of the territories that surround it.

To the south-east lies the Valley of Kishtwar on the upper Chinab. Its rulers had matrimonial relations with the Sultans of Kashmir, and were usually subject to them. Lower down on the Chinab is the district of Bhadravah. South of the Pir Panjal Range there were small hill-states, which were inhabited by the "unruly Khasas" and were tributary to Kashmir. To the south-west was the important hill-state of Rajauri, comprising the valleys drained by the Tohi and its tributaries. On the north-west of Rajauri lay the kingdom of Punch,

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mountains has been estimated at about 3,900 sq. miles.

The mountains surrounding Kashmir consist of three main ranges. The most important of these is the Pir Panjal Range which, with a width of fifty to sixty miles, forms the southern and south-western boundary of the Valley. It begins from the southernmost part of the country where the Banihal Pass, 9,200 ft. above the sea, marks the lowest depression in the chain of mountains. After running for about thirty miles from east to west, the range turns to the north-northwest. In this direction it continues for about fifty miles more, and, after attaining its greatest elevation in the Tatakuti Peak (15,524 ft.) it gradually descends towards the Jehlam Valley.

The boundary of the Valley in the north-east is formed by the main Central Himalayan range, which separates the Jehlam and the Indus drainage. The eastern boundary is formed by a high spur of this range which branches at about ten miles east-south-west from the Zoji-La Pass and runs due south, its peaks maintaining an elevation of from 12,000 to 14,000 ft. It thus forms the watershed between the Jehlam and the Chinab, and separates Kashmir from the Maru-Wardwan Valley. The range then turns to the north-west, and joins the Pir Panjal Range at the Banihal Pass.

The mountains which enclose the Kashmir Valley in the north and north-west, may be looked upon

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called Dal to the east of the city. The surplus waters of the lake flow out towards the Jehlam by a canal which is now called Chunth Kul but which in ancient times bore the name of Mahasarit.[8]

A large stream called Dudganga, made up by the waters of several streams that drain the south-western mountains, joins the Jehlam on the left bank at the city of Srinagar. Immediately below Srinagar, we come to the marshes which stretch along both sides of the river for a considerable distance. The marshes to the north of the river are more extensive and belong to the delta of the Sind river, the greatest tributary of the Jehlam within the Valley, which originates near the Zoji-La and Amburnath Peak. It has a course of over sixty miles and drains the mountain range in the north. The Valley of the Sind, called after its name, forms the district of Lar, one of the main sub-divisions of the Valley in the north. The Sind river joins the Jehlam near the village of Shadipur.[9] The Jehlam continues on in a north-westerly direction until it joins the Volur [Wular] lake. It then flows out from the lake at the south-west corner. It receives many streams in its course up to Baramula, but the chief one among them being the Pohur stream which drains the Lolab Valley, and enters the main river at Dubgam, [Doabgah] about four miles below the town of Sopur [Sopore].[10] The river goes on winding through a flat country like that above Srinagar until it reaches Baramula, where the gorge begins. After this there is no further possibility of navigation. In its course from Khanabal to the Volur [Wular] lake the fall of the river is 165 ft., in the first

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and to the north-west of Punch was the Jehlam Valley. This was held in olden times as an outlying frontier district of Kashmir, as far as Buliasa. Further to the west lay the district of Pakhli.[4] To the north-west of the Kashmir valley was situated the tract known as Karnav. Its inhabitants were Khasas, and their chiefs acknowledged the suzerainty of strong Kashmir rulers. To the north lies the valley of Kishanganga inhabited by the Dard tribes.[5] To the east lies Baltistan and Ladakh inhabited by the people of Tibetan race. Further south along the range on the east of the Valley is situated a long narrow valley known as Maru-Wardwan.

Topography

The Kashmir Valley is divided into two parts. One comprises the plain formed by the alluvium of the Jehlam and its main tributaries; the other consists of the plateaus or *karewas* elevated above the plain.

The Jehlam, which forms the main arterial drainage system for the Valley's lakes and rivers and of the inner slopes of the mountains, is first formed by the meeting of several streams like the Sandran, the Bring, the Arapath and the Lidar which drain the south-eastern portion of the Valley. This meeting takes place in the plain close to Anantnag.[6] At Khanabal[7] the Jehlam becomes navigable and continues so up to Baramula, a distance of 102 miles, thus forming the most important highway of Kashmir. At Khanabal also begins the great plain which streches on both sides of the river as far as Baramula. In its winding course the Jehlam receives many streams. But just before reaching Srinagar, it is formed by a stream which drains the lake

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The Dal lake, measuring about four miles by two and a half, lies close to Srinagar in the east. Its water which is clear and soft as silk is said to be specially suited to the fabrics of the *Pashmina*, and at the same time renders the colours fast whilst bringing out their brightness.[11] The Dal is also like the Volur [Wular] rich in natural products. Kashmir possesses many other lakes too, like the Mansabal and the Anchar Dal, but they do not possess the same importance as the Volur [Wular] and the Dal.

The springs in Kashmir are as useful for irrigation as the mountain streams and rivers. One of the springs, the Maliknag, is sulphurous, and its water is highly prized for garden cultivation; while the Kokarnag is given the first place as a source of drinking water. The town of Anantnag possesses a large number of springs which send out numerous streams. Perhaps the most beautiful of all the springs is the Achabal which gushes out of the Sosanwar hill. Vernag on the way to Jammu is another spring of great importance. People in Kashmir regard the springs as sacred, because their water is cold in summer and warm in winter.

Besides the central plain surrounded by the mountains, there are also many side valleys which are drained by the tributaries of the Jehlam, and which add much ground to the total cultivated area of the country. The slope of the mountains where cultivation is not possible are rich in forests, and above this are rich alpine pastures. These side valleys have been the sites of important battles in medieval times.

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thirty miles, and 55 ft. in the next twenty-four miles. But from the Volur [Wular] to Baramula the fall is very slight.

In ordinary times the Jehlam flows gently between its high banks, but in times of flood, it not only overflows its natural banks, it even overtops the artificial embankments constructed on either side of the river. As a result crops are damaged, houses are destroyed, and lives are lost. The loss caused by the floods is always considerable below Srinagar as the fall of the country is slight, and the flood water remains on the land rotting the crops. But above Srinagar, owing to the slope of the country, the flood water escapes quickly, and so the crops are often not damaged.

Kashmir abounds in lovely lakes and springs. Of the latter the Volur [Wular] and the Dal are the most important. The Volur [Wular] is the largest fresh water lake in India, being about twelve and a half miles by five in extent. It is fed by several streams, while from the south the Jehlam seeks a passage through it. Its shores are ill-defined, and it consists of miles of marshlands with reeds growing, and when the floods come its water spreads over many miles of the country. The boatmen of Kashmir look upon it with apprehension even in normal times, for the quiet surface of the lake changes into a sea of rolling waves, most dangerous to the flat-bottomed crafts of the country. However, it performs a very useful service by retaining the valuable loamy rich deposits of the Jehlam which, otherwise, would escape to the Punjab.

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routes towards the Punjab which crossed the Pir Panjal barrier have exercised great influence on the history of Kashmir. The route leading over the Zoji-La in the east has also always been an important thoroughfare, connecting Kashmir with Ladakh and thence with Tibet, Turkistan, and China. But the routes leading over the mountains in the north and north-west have not been of much significance for the history of the country.

The Banihal Pass (9,200 ft.) is situated at the eastern extremity of the Pir Panjal Range. Owing to its small elevation it has always been a convenient route of communication with the upper Chinab valley and the eastern Punjab hill-states. This pass is the only route across the Pir Panjal Range on which communication is never completely stopped by snow-fall. It is by this route that the State of Jammu was, as it is today, connected with Kashmir[14]. It is closed for horses and vehicles from the end of December onwards for two months. The distance between Jammu and Srinagar is reckoned at 177 miles[15].

Sidau or Budil Pass (14,000 ft) connects Srinagar with Akhnur and Sialkot in an almost straight line. Owing to its high ridges it can be used only for foot-traffic, but owing to its shortness it was formerly a favourite route with the Kashmiris. The name Sidau is given to the pass from the first village reached by it on the Kashmir side. Srivara refers to it as Siddhadesa, an adaptation of Kalhana's Siddhapatha[16]. By this route Jammu is only 129 miles from Srinagar[17].

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The second division of the Valley consists of high ground called U*dar* in Kashmiri, and *karewa* and *uddara* in the Persian and Sanskrit chronicles respectively[12]. The *karewas* are considered by the geologists to be due to alluvial deposits, and they occur either isolated, or are connected by slopes with the mountains that surround the Valley. They rise generally from 100 to 300 ft. above the level of the Valley. Most of them are found on the south-western side, stretching from Shupiyan[13] to Baramula. Beyond Sopur [Sopore] again the north-western end of the Valley is mostly *karewa* ground. The *karewas* also occur in the north-east and south-east side of the country. Those *karewas* which are attached to the mountains are cultivated with the help of the water-courses brought from the higher ground, but owing to the inferiority of the soil they are much less fertile than the plain. Those however which are isolated, are either entire wastes, covered with low jungle, or, if cultivated, yield only poor crops because of the uncertainty of rainfall and the difficulty of irrigation. Some of these *karewas*, owing to their elevation and commanding position, have been the sites of severe fighting in the past.

Passes

The mountain walls which surround the valley, are pierced by a number of openings through which it maintains contact with the outside world. Here mention will be made only of those passes which had commercial or strategic importance in the past. The

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Before the construction of the Imperial Raod, the old route to the pass crossed the Hastivanj route and followed throughout the right bank of the Pir Panjal stream.[22] This route was used for the march of troops before the construction of the Pir Panjal route.[23]. It was by this route that Qasim Khan, Akbar's commander, entered Kashmir.

The route via the Toshamaidan Pass was very important owing to its natural advantages. It was the shortest route leading into the valley of Punch, and hence to that portion of the western Punjab which lies between the Jehlam and the Indus. This route was followed by Hiuen Tsiang on his way to Punch, and by Mahmud of Ghazni when he attempted an invasion of Kashmir. It remained a popular trade route until the construction of the Jehlam Valley cart-road. However, owing to the elevation of the pass, this route was always closed by snow longer than the Pir Panjal route. During the winter months, therefore, the road from Punch to Kashmir lay by the lower passes in the west, leading into the Valley below Baramula.

The Jehlam Valley beyond Baramula is confined between two ranges of mountains. The one to the south is a branch of the Pir Panjal Range; the range to the north belongs to a mountain system which culminates in the Kajnag Peak (14,400 ft.). These two ranges accompany the course of the river for eighty miles westwards to Muzaffarabad. Owing to the confined nature of this defile, and steep and rugged cross ridges the use of the route was difficult; and so its military and

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From the point close to the west of the pass of Sidau where the main range changes its direction towards north-north-west, there branches off in a westerly direction the lower Ratan Range. Beyond this lie the passes of Rupri and Darhal (13,000 ft.). They give most direct access to Rajauri, and are crossed without much trouble during the summer months. In the past, therefore, they must have been used very frequently.

The Pir Panjal Pass[18] (11,400ft.) gives access to the valleys of the two Tohis of Rajauri and Punch, from which direct routes of communication led to the central and western Punjab. Hirapur[19] was the entrance station for those reaching Kashmir from Rajauri and the neighbouring places, and a point of departure for those leaving Kashmir for Rajauri. The starting point from the Punjab side was Bhimbhar[20]. This route played an important part in the time of the Sultans[21]. Influenced by the consideration of its natural advantages, Akbar also, after the conquest of the Valley, chose it for the construction of his Imperial Road, which was to connect Lahore with Kashmir. The route was open for seven months in the year.

The old Imperial Road, constructed by the Mughals across the Pir Panjal Pass, on ascending the narrow valley kept on its left side high above the Pir Panjal stream. But from a point close to the 'Aliabad Sarai, a high mountain ridge slopes down from the south and falls off towards the valley in a wall of precipitous cliff. This ridge is known as Hastivanj.

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and Chinab rivers are crossed by rope bridges. The route is closed in winter.[24]

The Zoji-La Pass (11,300 ft.) has always been an important thoroughfare. It connects Kashmir with Ladakh and thence with Tibet and China. From Ladakh also routes led to Baltistan and, across the Karakoram Mountains, to Chinese Turkistan.[25] It was through the Zoji-La Pass that Rinchana entered Kashmir, and Mirza Haidar Dughlat first invaded the country. It was also through this pass that Kashmir maintained commercial and cultural relations with China and Turkistan.

The mountains which enclose the Kashmir Valley in the north-west and north, have a number of passes connecting it with the Kishanganga Valley, which was at times subject to the authority of Kashmir rulers. But the routes leading over these passes were not as important as those already described. The route, however, which leads from the Kashmir Valley into that part of the upper Kishanganga Valley known as Gurez and is connected with those leading to Astor and Baltistan, is an important one. The road made in recent years is called the "Gilgit Transport Road", and crosses the range by the Tragabal or the Razdiangan Pass, nearly 12,000 ft. high. But the route frequented in ancient times lay some eight miles further to the east. This was via Dudakhut Pass. An easy track over the ridge leads down to Gurez. This route, being direct and comparatively easy during the summer, was much frequented by the Dard traders until the construction of the Gilgit Road. From Gurez the route leads across the

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commercial importance was in the past less than that of Pir Panjal or Toshamaidan routes. It is only from the time of the Afghan occupation of Kashmir that this western route attained real prominence. The route was important as leading to the Hazara district and the North-West Frontier Province, which are now in West Pakistan. It is continued towards Kashmir on the right bank of the Jehlam, the crossing of the latter being entirely avoided. Since this route does not pass through much high ground, it is the only one that is almost free from snow in winter, and was, until the Partition, the easiest route from the Punjab to Kashmir. It was also convenient for those who wished to proceed towards Attock and Peshawar from Kashmir. It must have also been used for Kashmir's trade with Persia and western Turkistan. Hiuen Tsiang and Ou-K'ong entered Kashmir from the west by this route, and it is by this route that many learned scholars and Sufis from Persia and Turkistan came to the Valley.

It must be remembered that there was no line of communication along the left side of the Jehlam Valley corresponding to the present Murree-Baramula road. But for two marches down the valley, as far as Uri, a convenient route leads over the easy Haji Pir Pass (8,500 ft.) to Punch. It is never closed by snow owing to its small elevation. It was hence much used during winter months when the more direct routes to Kashmir via the Pir Panjal, the Toshamaidan, and other passes were rendered impassable.

The Marbal Pass (11,570 ft.) connects Kashmir with Kishtwar. After crossing the pass, the Wardwan

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REFERENCE.

1. Stein, Kalhana's *Rajat.*, ii, 390

2. *Ibid.*, intro., i, 30

3. It is a town situated on the Jehlam in Lat. 34° 13', Long 84° 23', 34 miles west of Srinagar.

4. This comprised the whole of the hill territory betweer Kashmir in the east and the Indus in the west, including the lower valley of the Kishanganga and the valleys of the streams which flow into the latter. (See for more details. Stein ii, 434)

5. The Dard tribes inhabit the territories of Chitral, Yasin, Gilgit, Chilas, Bunji, and the Kishanganga Valley. (See for more details, Stein, i, Intro., p. 91; Drew, *Jummo and Kashmir,* pp. 7, 422 sq.

6. It is the second largest town in the Valley situated in Lat. 33° 44', Long 75° 12'. It is also called Islamabad.

7. It is near Anantnag and is its port on the Jehlam.

8. Stein, ii, 416

9. It is situated in Lat. 34o 11' Long. 74o 43'. It is a contraction of the original name of Shibu'd-Dinpur given to it by Sultan Shihabu'd-Din who founded the town . (See Munich MS., f. 56b; and Stein, ii, 329 n. 1.)

10. It is a town on both sides of the Jehlam situated in Lat. 34° 17' Long . 74° 31', Its ancient name was Suyyapura and was founded by Avantivarman's minister Suyya. (Stein, v, No. 118n)

11. Pearce Gervis, This is Kashmir, p. 138.

12. Stein, ii, 425.

13. A town on the south-west side of the Valley situated in Lat. 33° 44', Long 74° 53', 29 miles from Srinagar.

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Kamri Pass (13,000) ft.) to Astor and Gilgit.[26] At Burzil, the last halting place on this side of the watershed, two roads part: one leads north-eastwards across the Deosai Plateau to Skardu;[27] the other goes north to Astor. Following the latter, the Dorikun Pass (13,000ft.) is crossed, and then the Indus basin is reached. The next spur that has to be crossed is known as Hatu Pir, and then Gilgit is reached. The road to Skardu has to cross difficult passes, the highest of them being the Burji Pass, 15,700 ft. high.

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CHAPTER III

THE FOUNDATION OF THE SULTANATE

During the eighth century Kashmir was several times subjected to the attacks of the Arabs. Two centuries later, Mahmud of Ghazni twice led his armies for its conquest. But although both the Arab and Turkish invasions ended in failure, it will be useful to take a brief notice of them, for it is to these that Kashmir owed its earliest contact with political Islam.

The Arab Invasions

The conquest of Kabul and Turkistan by *Qutaiba b. Muslim* during the caliphate of Walid, brought the Arabs to the borders of the kingdom of Kashmir. But within six years from the death of Qutaiba much of his work was undone[1]. However, under the Caliph Hisham (724-43), Nasr b. Sayyar, the first Arab governor of Transoxiana, not only reconquered most of the territories overrun earlier by Qutaiba, but even reached as far as Kashghar[2]. Under the early 'Abbasids these conquests were further extended and consolidated. In 751 the Arabs gained a victory over the Chinese and compelled them to abandon Gilgit as well as their other possessions in the extreme west.[3] The kingdom of Kabul over which the hold of the Umayyads had been precarious was reduced while Ma'mun ar-Rashid was governor of Khurasan, and its ruler accepted Islam.[4] Later, when Ma'mun became Caliph (813-33), he entered into relations with the rulers of Tibet and its neighbours[5]. The news of these Arab advances must

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14. It is by this route that Ya'qub Sarfi and other Kashmiris proceeded to the court of Akbar to seek his help against Ya'qub Shah (F.K., ff. 211 a-b).
15. Drew. Jummoo and Kashmir, 524.
16. Stein, ii, 373-4, 393 n. 27.
17. Drew; Jumno and Kashmir, 524

18. Sriv., p. 251, calls it Panchaladeva. It corresponds to Pir Panjal; Pir being the nearest Muslim equivalent for Deva. (See Stein, ii, 397-8)

19. It is a village 7 miles south-west of Shupiyan, situated in Lat. 33° 41′ Long. 74° 46′. It is called Shurapura by Srivara

20. It is a small town in Lat. 32° 58′ Long. 74° 8′. It is 150 miles from Srinagar by the Pir Panjal route.

21. J.A.S.B., lxiv, 376.

22. . Stein, ii, 395.

23. A.A., ii, 347 sqq.

24. Drew, Jummoo and Kashmir, 532-3.

25. See for these routes Chapter XII under the section of Trade.

26. From Gilgit routes lead to Transoxiana. See Chapter XII.

27. This is the most frequented route between Kashmir and Skardu. The distance is 158 miles. The other route by Dras to Skardu is 242 miles. Up to Tashgam the route to Leh and Skardu is common. (Drew, *Jummoo and Kashmir*, 377, 531.).

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When Hisham b. Amr at-Taghlibi was appointed governor of Sindh by the Caliph Mansur (754-57), he also attempted an invasion of the Valley, and reached as far as the southern slopes of the Himalayas, which were subject to Kashmir. He, however, failed to enter the Valley, and occupy it as has been claimed by the Arab historians.[11]. This was the last attempt of the Arabs to invade Kashmir; and when again a Muslim invasion of the Valley took place it was undertaken not by an Arab chief but by a Turkish Sultan.

Mahmud of Ghazni's Invasions

In 1002 Mahmud of Ghazni routed the forces of Jaipal, Raja of Waihand, who, affected by the humiliation of defeat, burnt himself to death. Jaipal's son and successor Anandpal also suffered a crushing defeat at the hands of Mahmud (1009), and died after a few years. Anandpal's son Trilocanpal, whose power was now confined only to the Salt Range, appealed to Samgramaraja (1003-28), the king of Kashmir, for help against Mahmud. Samgramaraja sent a large army under his commander-in-chief Tunga. Mahmud met the forces of Trilocanpal, supported by the Kashmir contingent, in one of the valleys which leads towards Kashmir from the neighbourhood of Jehlam[12].Tunga, having won a victory over a reconnaissance party of the Sultan, began to think too lightly of the invader. The result was that when Mahmud personally advanced to attack the enemy, Tunga, in spite of the adviced of Trilocanpal to take shelter behind a rock, advanced to

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have been a source of anxiety to the kings of Kashmir, although there is no evidence to suggest that the Arabs ever contemplated the invasion of the Valley from the north, either from Kabul or Kashgar. The real threat to the Valley came from the Arabs who had established themselves in Sindh.

Muhammad Qasim occupied Sindh and the lower Punjab between the years 711 and 713. He then marched from Multan and caried his arms to the borders of the kingdom of Kashmir.[6]. Threatened by the Arab advance, Raja Candrapida of Kashmir sent an envoy to the Chinese emperor asking for help against the Arabs.[7] However, no aid was received; but fortunately Muhammad b. Qasim was recalled by the Caliph Sulaiman to Damascus, and so the Arab danger was for the time being removed. In the reign of the Caliph Hisham (724-43) the Arabs of Sindh under their energetic and ambitious governor Junaid again threatened Kashmir. But Lalitaditya (724-60), who was the ruler of Kashmir at this time, defeated him and overran his kingdom.[8] His victory was, however, not decisive for the Arab aggression did not cease. That is why the Kashmiri ruler, pressed by them from the south and by the Turkish tribes and the Tibetans from the north, had to invoke the help of the Chinese emperor[9] and to place himself under his protection. But, although he did not receive any aid, he was able to stem the tide of Arab advance by his own efforts.[10]

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territories in Hindustan. Even when, by the end of the thirteenth century, they had succeeded in subduing the whole of Northern India, they did not undertake the hazardous adventure of invading Kashmir, but directed their arms to the conquest of the Deccan and South India which was easier to achieve. And when in the second quarter of the fourteenth century Muslim rule came to be established in the Valley, it was not the result of foreign invasion but was due to internal conditions obtaining there.

Decline of Hindu Rule

Signs of internal decay began to manifest themselves with the establishment of the Lohara dynasty in 1003. Henceforth the Hindu rule in Kashmir started on its downward course until it met its overthrow in about 1320 under Suhadeva. The kings who, during this period, occupied the throne were for the most part weak and worthless and allowed themselves to be dominated by low favourites and corrupt ministers. The people were subjected to the hated corvee, and to all kinds of oppressive taxes in addition to the illegal exactions of the officials. The Damaras or feudal chiefs grew powerful, defied royal authority, and by their constant revolts plunged the country into confusion. Life and property were not safe, agriculture declined, and there were periods when trade came to a standstill. Socially and morally too the court and the country had sunk to the depths of degradations.[17]

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face him. But Mahmud put him to flight. Trilocanpal tried to retrieve the situation, but he too was defeated (1014).[13]

Provoked by Samgramaraja's conduct, Mahmud decided to invade Kashmir and punish him. He marched to Jehlam and then, proceeding along the valley of the river Tohi, tried to enter Kashmir by the Toshamaidan Pass. But his further progress was checked by the strong fort of Loharkot which guarded the pass.[14] Mahmud besieged the fort for a month, but without any success; and owing to heavy snowfall, which cut off his communications, he was compelled to raise the siege. While retreating he lost his way. Many of his troops perished, and he himself escaped with difficulty. This was his first serious reverse in India.[15]

In Sept- Oct., 1021, Mahmud again set out from Ghazni to invade Kashmir in order to retrieve his prestige. He followed the same route as before, but once again the fort of Loharkot stopped his advance. He besieged it for a month, but failed to reduce it. Meanwhile as severe winter had set in, he was compelled to withdraw. After these two failures Mahmud abandoned the idea of invading Kashmir again.[16]

When two centuries later the storm of Turkish invasion again burst on the plains of Hindustan, it did not affect Kashmir, for Shihabu'd-Din Ghuri, and after him the Turkish Sultans of Delhi, remained pre- occupied with the extension and consolidation of their

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and costly pleasures involved him in financial difficulties. To meet the crisis he began looting the wealth of the temples[29] and exploiting his subjects by imposing upon them new and oppressive taxes. He even went to the extent of taxing the night soil[30]. The result of his misgovernment and tyranny was that the nobles rose against him, and put him to a miserable death.

The Second Lohara Dynasty

Uccala (1101-11) was generous, capable and energetic. But "with robbers as ministers and feudatories, a brother ready to become a pretender, a land without treasure," he found it impossible to establish law and order in the country.[31] Sussala (1112-28) ruled for sixteen years with a brief interval of one year when Bhiksacara, Harsa's grandson, occupied the throne. Sussala oppressed his subjects to fill the treasury, and failed to subdue the chiefs who were in a state of constant rebellion.[32] It was in the midst of an open revolt that Jayasimha (1128-55) succeeded to the throne of his father. He lacked a strong will, did not display any acts of personal bravery during his reign and failed to crush the Damaras. Yet by cunning diplomacy and unscruplous intrigue he succeeded in giving peace to the country. As Kalhana observes: "He restored to this land, which owing to the baseness of the time was like a decayed forest, wealth, population and habitation."[33]

Jayasimha was the last great Hindu ruler of Kashmir. After his death the country again lapsed into

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Samgramaraja (1003-28), the first ruler of the Lohara dynasty, neglected the administration and allowed his greedy officers and vile favourites to plunder the people[18]. On his death his son Hariraja ascended the throne, but he died after a reign of twenty-two days. Ananta (1028-63), Samgramaraja's younger son, then became king. His expensive habits involved him in heavy debt, so that he had to pawn even the royal diadem and throne to a foreign trader.[19] Luckily, however, at this time his queen, Suryamati, intervened and took charge of the affairs. She paid off the debts from her own savings, and secured the services of able ministers who governed the country well.[20] But during the reign of Kalasa (1063-89) the Valley was once again plunged into chaos. He neglected public business and lived in the society of immoral and vicious courtiers who completely dominated him.[21] He became so depraved as to violate his own daughter.[22]

The next ruler Harsa (1089-1101) was in many ways a remarkable man. He was handsome, courageous and of a powerful frame[23]. He loved music, and patronised art and learning. In the beginning he ruled wisely and made his subjects happy,[24] but later his character degenerated under the influence of his evil cousellors,[25] and he became cruel, licentious and perverse. His sensualities led him to commit acts of incest.[26] His foreign campaigns were nowhere successful[27]. Inside the Valley the pretenders and feudal chiefs were a constant source of trouble; and although he suppressed them with revolting cruelties, they again raised their heads.[28] His reckless expenditure on troops

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Simhadeva's brother Suhadeva (1301-20) succeeded in bringing the whole of Kashmir under his rule. But the heavy fines and taxes, which he exacted, made him unpopular. He did not exempt even the Brahmans from taxation.[36] He was a bad ruler, "the Raksas of a king who, under the plea of protecting the country, devoured it for nineteen years and twenty-five days."[37] Moreover, like his predecessors, he neglected the defences of the country by leaving the passes unguarded. As a result, advanturers and spies entered the Valley without any difficulty.[38] Socially and morally the people of Kashmir had sunk to the lowest depths, for old and young alike had taken to falsehood, intrigue, dishonesty and discord.[39] Such was the state of Kashmir when the storm of foreign invasion by Zulju burst upon the country.

Zulju's Origin

Who was this Zulju[40] that overwhelmed Kashmir? Jonaraja calls him the commander of the great king Karmasena.[41] But it is not possible to identify the latter. Abu'l –Fazl, who based himself entirely on the Sanskrit chronicles for this period of Kashmir history, refers to Zulju as chief commander of the king of Qandahar.[42] Nizamu'd-Din and Firishta say that he was Mir Bakhshi of the ruler of Qandahar.[43] But these statements are apocryphal. Qandahar did not have at this time any chief of its own, but was a possession of Ghiyasu'd-Din, the Kurt ruler of Herat, who was tributary to the Il-Khans of Persia.[44] Ghiyasu'd-Din himself was not powerful enough to send an army for

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chaos. The political and economic decline, which had set in since the beginning of the eleventh century and which Jayasimha had in vain tried to arrest, became more rapid after him. His successors were weak and incompetent. They neglected their duty of protecting their subjects and instead robbed them with the help of their favourites. Their misrule was taken advantage of by the nobles who became strong and defied the royal authority. In 1198, however, Jagadeva became king, and he endeavored to establish peace and prosperity in the Valley. But his efforts were not successful, for the corrupt officials drove him out of the country. Although he later recovered the throne, he was soon poisoned and died in 1212-3. He was succeeded by his son Rajadeva (1212-13 to 1235) whose power was limited by aggressive nobles.[34] His son Samgramadeva (1235-52) was a strong man, but was helpless when the chiefs compelled him to leave the country. Although he later succeeded in recovering the throne, he was shortly afterwards slain. The reign of Ramadeva (1252-73), Rajadeva's son, was uneventful. As he had no child, he adopted Laksmanadeva, the son of a Brahman, as his heir-apparent. Laksmanadeva (1273-86), who succeeded him, was incompetent, and was constantly harassed by the Turks and his turbulent nobles. His son Simhadeva (1286-1301) ruled over a kingdom considerably reduced in size. He was dominated by evil counsellors, and was in the end assassinated by Darya, the husband of his nurse's daughter with whom he had illicit relations.[35]

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Zulju's Invasion

Zulju entered Kashmir by the Jehlam Valley route, and as the passes were not properly defended, he did not meet with any resistance. Hearing of the invasion, Suhadeva tried to persuade Zulju to withdraw by paying him a large sum of money, which he raised by taxing all classes of people, including the Brahmans.[53] But the effect of this was that, while it increased Suhadeva's unpopularity among his subjects, it only served to whet Zulju's appetite for loot. And the Mongol chief, instead of withdrawing, continued to advance. Suhadeva tried to organise resistance, but did not succeed, for the people of Kashmir, owing to the financial exactions and injustices to which they had been subjected by him and his predecessors, remained apathetic to his appeals.[54] He, therefore, fled to Kishtwar, leaving his people to the mercy of the invaders who perpetrated all kinds of atrocities upon them. They set fire to the dwellings, massacred the men and made women and children slaves. For many years afterwards the blackened remains of ruined homesteads told the tale of the conquerors' cruelties. The only place which remained partially safe from the fury of the Mongols was the district of Lar,[55] where Ramacandra, Suhadeva's commander-in-chief, shut himself up in the fort, and endeavoured to protect his family, his followers, and the inhabitants of the town and the neighbourhood. In fact, he was the only person who tried to maintain some semblance of authority in the Valley[56]. And, after Zulju's departure, he moved

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the conquest of Kashmir; and besides he was confronted with internal rebellions and intrigues and with an invasion of Prince Yasur, the Nikudari.[45] It is, therefore, wrong to say that Zulju came from Qandahar. Zulju was in reality a Mongol who came from Turkistan [46] which was at this time ruled by the descendants of Chaghatay, the son of Chingiz Khan,[47] and his army consisted of both Turks and Mongols.[48] As regards his religion he does not seem to have been a Muslim. By this time only a few of the Chaghatay chiefs had embraced Islam. Most of them had remained attached to the pagan beliefs of their forefathers.[49]

Mongol Invasions

In the thirteenth century the Mongols, emerging from their Mongolian steppes, overran considerable parts of Asia and Europe. Kashmir too was subjected to a series of invasions. Thus Ogatay, Chingiz Khan's third son, despatched Mugatu towards India and Kashmir, and he returned after ravaging parts of these countries.[50] Again in 1253 Tair was sent with an army to Kashmir and India.[51] After Tair's death his troops came under the command of Sali who is said to have conquered Kashmir and sent several thousand prisoners to Hulagu Khan.[52] Details of these Mongol invasions are not available, but they appear to have been, in the nature of raids and affected only the outer hills of Kashmir. The invasion of Zulju in the spring of 1320 was a continuation of these previous attempts to conquer the Valley.

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houses, without relations, and without friends. In addition to these sufferings, they were subjected to the harassments of the neighbouring hill tribes, who raided the Valley and plundered them of whatever they still possessed, and then carried them away as slaves. Moreover, to crown it all, famine stared them in the face.[62]

As there was no organised government in the country, the local chiefs made themselves independent. In some cases the inhabitants themselves organised their defence against the depredations of robbers and the hill tribes by taking possession of fort and choosing some strong person as their leader[63]. Among those who took advantage of the prevailing anarchy, the most prominent person was Rinchana.

Rinchana: Sultan Sadru'd-Din (1320-23)

Rinchana, whose full name was Lha-chen-rgyal-bu-rin-chen (Lhachen rGyalbu Rinchana), was the son of the Ladakhi chief, *Lha-chen-dNgos-grub* (Lhachen dNgos-grub), who ruled Ladakh from 1290 to 1320.[64] The wars between the Ladakhis and Baltis had been very frequent in the past. However, owing to the Pax-Mongolica which covered both Ladakh and Baltistan, these wars had for the time being ceased. But after the death of Kublay Khan (1260-94), which plunged his empire into confusion, they were renewed. In a campaign the Baltis were victorious over the Ladakhis, and "they avenged their fathers and their forefathers."[65] As a result Rinchana's father lost his life. Rinchana

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down to Andarkot and drove out the Gaddis who had come from Kishtwar on a raid.[57]

The Mongols continued their ravages in the Valley for eight months, until the commencement of winter[58]. During this period fields had been for the most part left uncultivated, for the inhabitants had either been killed or escaped to the mountains. And as the Mongols had consumed or burnt the existing stocks of grain in the country, they were now threatened by an acute shortage of supplies. It was owing to this reason, and not because of the cold weather, that Zulju decided to depart from the Valley.[59] His officers advised him to leave by the same route of Baramula and Pakhli by which he had entered, because it was shorter and passable even in winter.[60] But he ignored their advice, and asked the prisoners to point out the shortest route to India where he expected to find provisions for his army. To revenge themselves on the Mongols for their sufferings, they directed them to the most hazardous route via Brinal.[61] When the Mongol army reached the top of the hill in the Divasar pargana, there was a severe snowfall which destroyed the whole army of Zulju, including the prisoners.

Condition of the Valley after the Mongol Withdrawal.

After the withdrawal of the Mongols the inhabitants returned to the Valley from the mountains whither they had fled to escape massacre or enslavement. They witnessed the havoc which the invaders had caused. Many found themselves without

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Rinchana had seized power with the support of his Ladakhi followers.[72] But he realized that, being a stranger in Kashmir, his government would not be stable unless he won the goodwill of the people of the country. The first thing, therefore, which he did was to befriend Rawancandra. After releasing him he conferred upon him the title of Raina (Lord or Master), made him his commander-in-chief, and gave him the pargana of Lar and the province of Ladakh as jagir. [73] He then married Rawancandra's sister Kota Rani. In this way Rinchana succeeded in gaining the loyalty of Rawancandra, and in making him forget the murder of his father.

Rinchana was faced with two dangers at the outset of his reign. The first was due to the appearance of Suhadeva, who returned from Kishtwar to claim his kingdom from which he had so ignominously fled. But Suhadeva was repulsed, and retired in haste to Kishtwar.[74] The people of Kashmir did not forget how he had betrayed them in the hour of their greatest need, and so no one came forward to welcome him, and none regretted his departure.

The other danger was from the Lavanyas [75] who during Zulju's invasion had become independent and now refused to acknowledge Rinchana as ruler. Rinchana, however, succeeded in suppressing them by playing the different chiefs against each other. In this way he established his authority over the whole Valley.[76]

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succeeded in avenging his father by killing a number of Balti chiefs,[66] but realising his position to be precarious, he left his country for Kashmir, which he entered by the Zoji-La Pass. On reaching the village of Gagangir, he decided to settle there with the permission of Ramacandra to whom the place belonged.[67]

During Zulju's invasion, Rinchana remained in the district of Lar, and was employed by Ramacandra to establish law and order, and protect the inhabitants from robbers. By performing his duties with energy and efficiency, he grew influential and won the confidence of the people.[68] But so long as Zulju was in Kashmir, Rinchana lay low; it was only after the Mongol chief's withdrawal that he, like many others in the Valley, asserted his independence, and began to aspire to the throne of Kashmir.[69] But although he had secured a following in the Lar district in the course of, and after Zulju's invasion, he knew he was not strong enough to fight Ramacandra in the open. He therefore decided upon a ruse. He sent his Ladakhi followers in the guise of merchants, selling woollen clothes, to the town of Lar.[70] They carried on business for some time so that no suspicion might be aroused. Then, one day, they entered the fort under the pretext of trade, with their weapons concealed, and took Ramacandra's men by surprise. Meanwhile, Rinchana also, at the appointed time, attacked the fort. Ramacandra's troops were routed and he was killed. His son Rawancandra with his whole family was taken prisoner.[71] As there was no one strong enough to challenge Rinchana, he occupied the throne at the end of the year 1320.

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Bulbul Shah a hospice on the bank of the Jehlam, near the palace, and endowed it with a number of villages, whose income was to be spent for supporting its servants and supplying food to the travellers and the poor. He also built near the hospice a mosque where he prayed in congregation five times a day. This was the first mosque ever to have been built in Kashmir. Later on it was destroyed by fire, and a smaller mosque was built in its place.[81]

Meanwhile Rinchana was faced with a serious conspiracy headed by Tukka, his former Prime Minister. Tukka was angry with Rinchana for dismissing him from his office and appointing in his place Vyalaraja, and then inflicting the punishment of death upon his brother.[82] He therefore planned to destroy Rinchana; and while the latter was at Vimasaprastha, Tukka and his followers made a surprise attack on him. Although Vyalaraja came to his rescue, he received a serious wound, and as a result fainted. His enemies, thinking that Rinchana was dead, proceeded to occupy Srinagar. They plundered the city, but began to quarrel among themselves for the spoils. Meanwhile the king had recovered from his swoon, and taking advantage of the disunity among his enemies, he took them by surprise. He seized them, and ordered their execution. But his thirst for revenge not being satiated, he had the wombs of their wives ripped open by the sword.[83] The wound, however, which Rinchana had received on the head, proved to be mortal, and he died within a few months at the end of 1323, after a reign of over three years[84]. He was buried near the

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Rinchana's Conversion to Islam

Rinchana's mind was inquisitive and alert. He was fond of the society of learned men and Hindu and Buddhist priests, and used to discuss with them their respective religions in order to find a satisfactory answer to the question: "what is truth?" But the discussions failed to satisfy his spiritual cravings. Buddhism, the faith in which he was born, had become diluted with foreign elements and so could not offer him any solace. Hinduism also did not appeal to him because of its caste-ridden rules and the arrogance of the Brahmans who were its custodians. Owing to his inability to discover the truth, he felt a sense of frustration and a spiritual vacuum in his life. As a result, he was troubled and restless, and passed sleepless nights, weeping and praying to God to guide him to the right path.[77] It was in such a state of spiritual unrest that he came into contact with Sayyid Sharafu'd-Din, commonly known as Bulbul Shah, who was a disciple of Shah Ni'matu'llah Farsi belonging to the Suhrawardiya Order of Sufis [78] and had come to Kashmir in the reign of Suhadeva from Turkistan with one thousand fugitives from the Mongol invasion.[79] Rinchana learnt from him about Islam, and was so much impressed by its teachings, which were simple, free from ceremonies, caste and priesthood, that he became a Muslim,[80] and adopted the name of Sadru'd-Din according to the saint's advice. The next person to embrace Islam after Rinchana was his brother-in–law, Rawancandra. The royal patronage which Islam secured won for it new converts. Rinchana built for

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invasion of the Turks who entered the country via Hirapur.[89] Udayanadeva became terror-stricken and fled to Ladakh. But Kota Rani did not lose heart. She rose to the occasion, and with the help of her chief officers, like her brother Rawancandra, Shah Mir, and Bhatta Bhiksana,[90]. She resolved to organise resistance to the invaders she wrote to the chiefs who, taking advantage of the foreign invasion, had declared themselves independent, to give up their refractory conduct and unite under her banner to repel the enemy, for disunity and selfishness would bring them nothing but disaster, as it had done during the invasion of Zulju. She asked them to recall to memory the invasion of Zulju when owing to the cowardice of the leaders and disunity in the country the people had suffered so much. She called upon them to gird up their loins, and fight the enemy, because it was a thousand times better to be killed in the defence of one's family and country than to run away to safety, leaving the women and children behind to be taken prisoners. Her appeal woke the chiefs from their lethargy and they rallied round her. As a result, the campaign against the Turks was conducted vigorously, and they were defeated and compelled to withdraw from the Valley.[91] After their withdrawal, Udayanadeva returned to Srinagar. But due to his cowardly flight his prestige had greatly suffered, and so henceforth he began to lead a secluded life, taking very little interest in public affairs. The real power in the state was wielded by Kota Rani.[92]

Udayanadeva died in the year 1338, but Kota Rani, in order to get time to consolidate her position,

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mosque he had built. His grave was discovered in 1909 by A.H. Francke, the well-known Tibetan scholar and archaeologist of the Moravian Mission[85]. Rinchana's rule, while harsh and stern, was firm and rested on law. He was able and energetic, and tried to give peace to the land which had been in a state of chaos for a long time. Unfortunately he was on the throne only for a short period; and the man who succeeded him was too weak and incompetent to continue his work.

Udayanadeva (1323-38)

Rinchana left behind a son named Haidar who was under the guardianship of Shah Mir, his trusted counsellor[86]. As Haidar was a minor, his mother Kota Rani acted as Regent. But this arrangement was not regarded as satisfactory, for it was apprehended that without a soveriegn the country might again lapse into anarchy. It was therefore decided to set up on the throne a senior and an experienced member of the former royal family of Kashmir. Kota Rani, Rinchana's widow, accordingly, on the advice of Shah Mir and other nobles of the land, recalled Udayanadeva, the brother of Suhadeva, from Swat where he had been living since Zulju's invasion, made him king, and married him.[87] Udayanadeva was, however, cowardly and incompetent, and it was really Kota Rani who was the virtual ruler.[88]

Soon after Udayanadeva's accession to the throne, Kashmir was faced with a great threat from an

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could not have remained a mere passive spectator of the happenings around him. Besides, from the confidence which Rinchana placed in him, it appears that he must have helped him in his struggle against Ramacandra. It was because of this, and also because he stood aloof from the conspiracy hatched by Tukka, that Rinchana appointed him his minister as well as guardian of his only son Haidar.[99].

During the reign of Udayanadeva, Shah Mir, by his tact and ability, further strengthened his position. He co-operated with Kota Rani in organising resistance to the Turkish invasion, and in the end succeeded in repelling it. This considerably increased his prestige and popularity in the country for he had saved the people from the fate to which they had been subjected only a few years ago by Zulju. To consolidate his position further he entered into matrimonial alliances with the important feudal chiefs of the Valley.[100] Those with whom such alliances could not be formed, he brought under his influence by playing one against the other. All this filled Udayanadeva with jealous hostility towards Shah Mir, and made him apprehensive lest the latter should use Prince Haidar, Rinchana's lawful successor, to drive him out or to exclude his heirs from the succession. But Shah Mir, assured of his own position and strength, ignored Udayanadeva.[101]

On Udayanadeva's death Kota Rani ascended the throne, but alarmed at the ambition and growing power of Shah Mir, she appointed Bhatta Bhiksana as her prime minister who, being one of the ablest and

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concealed his death for four days. [93] She had two sons. One of them was by her first husband, Rinchana, and was in charge of Shah Mir; the other was by Udayanadeva, and was under the guardianship of Bhatta Bhiksana. She ignored the claims of both her sons, and herself ascended the throne[94]. But no sooner did she assume the reins of government in her hands, than her position was threatened by her eldest son's tutor, Shah Mir.

Shah Mir

Shah Mir's ancestry is shrouded in legend. According to some accounts he was descended from the Pandus,[95] heroes of the Mahabharata, while others trace his descent to the rulers of Swat.[96] But from a study of the character and achievements of Shah Mir and his successors, it is more than probable that the family was of Turkish origin. The name of Shah Mir's father was Tahir and his grandfather's Waqur Shah, who was a very devout and religious man.[97]

Turkish adventurers began to enter Kashmir from the end of the eleventh century onwards in search of employment. They were treated with respect by the Hindu kings, who employed them in their armies. Similarly, in 1313, came Shah Mir to the Valley with his tribe in search of fame and fortune. Suhadeva, who was then ruling Kashmir, employed him and gave him a village near Baramula as jagir.[98] We do not know what role he played during Zulju's invasion and in the events leading to Rinchana's rise to power. But it is certain that a man of his restless nature and abundant energy

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Kashmir for over two hundred years. Kota Rani died in prison in the year 1339.[107] What happened to her sons is not recorded in the chronicles.

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most powerful men in the kingdom, she hoped, would act as a counterpoise to him[102]. Moreover, in order to be safe from the danger of Shah Mir's proximity in Srinagar, where he was very popular, she transferred her capital to Andarkot[103]. Shah Mir was, however, angry with Kota Rani for having ignored him and raised another person to the highest office in the state; and he therefore made up his mind to overthrow both Kota Rani and her chief confidant. First he succeeded by means of a conspiracy in securing the assassination of Bhiksana[104], and then asked Kota Rani to marry him and to share power with him, threatening to make war on her if she refused. But Kota Rani rejected his proposal, for she did not want to marry a person who had been in her service; and being ambitious and domineering, she was not prepared to share power with any one. Shah Mir, therefore, set out from Srinagar with an army against Andarkot; and having defeated the troops which were sent by Kota Rani to check his advance, he laid siege to the fort. Meanwhile, as most of the important chiefs of the kingdom had been won over by Shah Mir, and her forces began to desert and join him, she decided to surrender, and accept his proposals[105]. But although Shah Mir married her, he did not trust her, because she had given her consent reluctantly and under duress. Moreover, as she still possessed some following in the country, he felt apprehensive and he therefore threw her into prison along with her two sons[106]. He then himself ascended the throne under the title of Sultan Shamsu'd-Din and thus laid the foundation of his dynasty which ruled

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16. Ibid., 105.

17. In BK. vii and viii Kalhana gives numerous instances of the deterioration of morals in the Valley.

18. Stein, i, BK. vii Nos. 107-19.

19. Ibid., No.195.

20. Ibid., No.195.

21. Ibid; Nos. 197 sqq.

22. Ibid., Nos. 285 sqq.

23. Ibid., No. 278.

24. Ibid., Nos. 874-8.

25. Ibid., Nos.932-56.

26. Ibid., Nos. 960.

27. Ibid., Nos.1147-8.

28. Ibid., Nos.1152 sqq.

29. Ibid., Nos.1037 sqq.

30. Ibid., Nos.1089-95; 1115 sqq.

31. Ibid., Nos.1107.

32. Ibid., viii, No.7.

33. Ibid., 481 sqq.

34. Ibid., Nos.2446.

35. Jonar. pp. 8-9.

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2. Hitti, History of the Arabs,p.210.

3. Stein, Ancient Khotan, pp. 11-12.

4. Balazuri, Futuhu'l-Buldan,p.393; Reinaud, Memoire sur l'inde,pp. 182,196

5. *ibid., 197*

6. Elliot, i, 436; Chach-nama, 192.

7. Majumdar, The Classical Age, 134, 174.

8. Ibid.

9. Ibid.; Reinaud, Memoire sur l'lande,90.

10. Majumdar, The Classical Age,173-4.

11. Balazuri, Futuhu'l-Buldan, p.431; Masudi, Muruju'z-Zahab, (Trans. de Meynard), i, 373 says that Kashmir was part of the country of Sindh. See also Elliot, i, 444.

12. It is a town situated on the west bank of the river Jehlam, 100 miles to the north-west of Lahore.

13. Nazim, Sultan Mahmud of Ghazna, 92-3; Stein, i, BK. vii, Nos.47-62 and n.

14. Loharakotta of Lohkot or the Castle of Lohara lay in the valley now called Loharin belonging to the territory of Punch. It was situated in Lat.33° 48′ Long. 74° 23′. An isolated ridge in Loharin towards the right bank of the river Loharin just above the village of Gegivand was the site of the fort. (See for more details Stein, ii, 293-300). Persian chronicles of Kashmir call it Loharkot.

15. Nazim, Mahmud of Ghazna, pp. 104-5.

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52. Ibid., 1135 n.5; Howorth, History of the Mongols,iii,184.

53. Tabaqat-i-Nasiri (trans. Raverty), 1191n; Howorth, iii, 185. But Howorth gives 1263 as the year of these conquests. See also Bretschneider, Medieval Researches, 137-8, 305.

54. Jonar. 17.

55. Hasan, 92b; H.M., 96a-b.

56. The district known as Lar comprises the whole of the territory drained by the Sind and its tributaries. The Sanskrit chronicles call it Lahara (Jonar. 18), but the Persian chronicles call it Lar. The fort of Lar was situated in the village of Gagangir, in Lat.34°18′ Long. 75° 15′, about 10 miles west of Sonamarg on the road to Dras. (N.A., f. 14a; W.K., f. 11b; T:H., ii, 82a).

57. B.S., 12a; Hasan, 92b; H. M., 96b.

58. Lawrence, Valley, 189. Andarkot is a village situated in Lat. 34° 13′ Long. 74° 42′ on the Sambal Lake about 12 miles north-west of Srinagar.

59. B.S., 10a-11a; H.M., f. 96b.

60. B.S., f. 11a; Hasan, 93a-94a; H.M., 97b; Jonar., p.17.The chronicles say that the Mongols made this decision owing to the dread of approaching winter. But this is wrong for the Mongols, coming as they did from colder regions, could have easily faced the cold weather of Kashmir.

61. Hasan, 94a-b; According to N.A., 14a, Zulju set out to conquer Kishtwar on his counsellor's advice.

62. Hasan, 94b; B.S., 11a; H.M., 98a. Brinal is now in Kulgam Tahsil situated S.E. of the Valley in the Brinal-Lamar Mountains. The route via Brinal leads to the Banihal Pass.

63. Hasan, 94b-95a; H.M., (B.N.), 31b-32a.

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36. Ibid., 9-14.

37. Ibid., 16.

38. Ibid., 19.

39. G.A.,f. 96b.

40. H.M. ff. 93b-94b.

41. Persian chroniclers call him Zulju. Jonar. (Cal. Ed.) calls him Zalacha or Zalcha: Jonar, (Bo. Ed., No. 152) calls him Duluch. Narayan Kaul and A'zam have Islamised his name as Zulqadar Khan.

42. Jonar., 16.

43. A.A. ii, 381.

44. T.A.. iii. Munich MS. f.47a.

45. Khwandami Habibu's-Siyar, iii, part ii, p.69; Saif b.Muhammad, Ta'rikh-nama-i-Harat, pp. 369 sqq.

46. Howorth, History of the Mongols, iii, 568-9, 590-1; Saif b. Muhammad, Ta'rikh-nama-i-Harat, pp. 680 sqq.

47. H.M., 95b; Hasan, 91a.

48. Prawdin. The Mongol Empire. 404-5.

49. B.S., f. 10 a; Jonar. (Bo.ed.), No. 170, says Zulju's army consisted of Turks. Tajiks, and mlecchas.

50. Prawdin, The Mongol Empire, pp. 141 sqq; Vambery, Bukhara, pp. 406-7; also p.157 n. where the names of Chaghatay rulers of Transoxiana are given.

51. Tabaqat-i-Nasiri (trans. Raverty), p 1126 n. 6.

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76. Jonar., 19.

77. B.S., 14a; Hasan, 98a; H.M., 101b-102a.

78. B.S., 14b; Majmu'a dar Ansab Masha'ikh-i-Kashmir, f. 106a; see also T. H., i, f. 136b and ii, f. 84b.

79. Moslem World, iv (1914),p.340.

80. Persian chronicles represent this event as the outcome of a miracle. They state that, unable to arrive at any decision, Rinchana made up his mind to adopt the religion of the person whom he saw first in the morning. The first person he saw form his palace early next morning was Bulbul Shah who was engaged in prayers. He immediately went up to him and, after making inquiries about the main tenets of his religion decided to adopt it. (Hasan, 99b-100a; H.M., 102-103a). Jonaraja is wrong in saying that Rinchana 99b-100a; H.M., 102-103a). Jonaraja is wrong in saying that Rinchana wanted to become a Saivite, but that the Brahmans refused to convert him. In ancient and medieval times conversions from Buddhism to Hinduism and vice versa were of common occurrence. In reality the reason why Rinchana did no embrace Saivism was that it could not satisfy his spiritual cravings. It is probably out of bitterness against Rinchana's rejection of Saivism that Jonaraja wrote that the Brahmans refused to take him into the fold of Hinduism. It was also due to the bitterness he felt at Rinchana's acceptance of Islam that he did not even so much as refer to the event in his chronicle.

81. B.S., f. 15a-b; Hasan, 100b-101a; H.M., 103a-b.

82. Jonar. 19-20; Munich MS., 148b-49a; I.A., July 1908, p. 187. According to Munich MS. Tukka was incited by Udayanadeva, brother of Suhadeva, who wanted to seize the throne.

83. Jonar, pp. 21-2.

84. 23, Munich MS. 50a.

85. J.P.H.S., i, No. 2, pp. 175-6.

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64. B.S., 12a; Hasan 95a H.M., 98b.

65. Francke,Antiquities of Indian Tibet, Vol.ii, 98; also I.A., July 1908,p. 187.

66. I.A., 1909,p.60. The Persian chronicles do not mention the struggle between the Baltis and the Ladakhis. They merely say that Rinchana's father and relations were killed by the rival party, and so he came away to Kashmir.

67. Jonaraja's Kalamanyas and Vakatanyas are the Baltis and Ladakhis respectively (p. 16). See also Munich MS. 47b. Ladakhi folklores contain a song which relates to the departure of a "Prince Rinchen" from Ladakh. (I.A., 1908, p. 187). The song is given in I. A., 1909,p. 59.

68. Hasan, 87b; B.S., 10a; H.M., 92b. Jonaraja's statement that Rinchana was a joint invader with Zulju is incorrect. Munich MS. Is wrong in saying that Rinchana, like Zulju, took prisoners and looted.

69. Hasan, 82b. Hasan also states that Rinchana appropriated some of the revenues which he collected on behalf of Ramacandra.

70. B.S., f. 12b.

71. Jonar. (Bo. Ed.), Nos. 199-200. G.A., f. 99a says that Rinchana secured help from his brother who was ruler of Dardu. But this is absurd.

72. B.S., 12a-b; Hasan,95b; H.M., 99a.

73. B.S., 12b; Hasan., 96a-b; H.M., 99b. Munich MS., 48a, wrongly says that Kota was the wife of Ramacandra.

74. B.S., 13a; Hasan, 96b; H.M., 100a.

75. Lavanyas must have formed in medieval times an important tribal section of the rural population in Kashmir. Many of them must have held positions of influence as landowners. (See for more details Stein, i, No. 1171n.; and Lawrence, Valley. 306.)

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100. Jonar., pp. 26-7; B.S., 16a.

101. Jonar., 26.

102. Ibid., 28.

103. B.S. 17a; Hasan, 102a; H.M. 105b.

104. Ibid.,Jonar., 29, says that Shah Mir feigned illness, and that when Kakapuri went to see him he stabbed him to death. But this story appears spurious. Since their relations were inimical it seems unlikely that Kakapuri would have visited Shah Mir.

105. B.S., f. 17a; Hasan, ff. 103a-b; H.M., f. 105b.

106. Jonar., p. 32; Munich MS., 53a. The story that on entering the bridal chamber after the marriage ceremony she stabbed herself, and bringing out her entrails offered them to Shah Mir, seems to be apocryphal. Jonaraja, who is the earliest authority for this period, does not mention the incident.

107. Jonar., 32.

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REFERENCE

86. B.S.,f. 15b; Hasan, 101a; H.M., 104a. T.A., iii, 425, calls Haidar as Chandra.

87. Jonar., 24; B.S., 16a; Hasan, 101b.

88. B.S., f. 16a; Hasan, 101b.

89. This was probably an incursion. But who these Turks were, and if they were sent by the Delhi Sultans, have not been recorded. The chronicles give different names to the leader of the invaders. Most of the Persian chronicles call him Urdil. (H.M., (B.N.) 33b; Hasan, 101b). But Jonar. 25 calls him Achala.

90. According to H.M. (B.N.), f. 33b, he was Kota's foster-brother and was not an able officer.

91. B.S., f. 16b; Hasan, ff. 101b-102b; H.M., 104a-5a. H.M, (B.N) says that the Turks having been defeated made peace, and then withdrew. Narayan Kaul follows this account.

92. H.M., f. 104a.

93. Jonar., p. 28.

94. Ibid., B.S., f. 17a, is wrong in saying that Kota Rani had no son alive at this time.

95. T.A., iii, 424: Firishta, p. 647. Jonar. is silent over the question of their ancestry.

96. B.S., f. 9a; H.M., f. 91b; Hasan, f. 86b.

97. Ibid., Jonar.; p. 15, wrongly calls him Qaur Shah. Sufi, Kashir, i, p. 130n. follows Jonar.

98. Jonar., p. 15; B.S., f. 9b; T.A., iii, 424. Jonar. P. 24, says he was the chief of his tribe. I cannot identify the village that was given to him as jagir.

99. Jonar., 23; Munich MS., f. 50a,

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CHAPTER IV

SULTAN SHAMSU'D-DIN AND HIS SUCCESSORS

Sultan Shamsu'd-Din (1339-42)

Shamsu'd-Din, Like Rinchana, tried to heal the wounds inflicted on the valley by Zulju's invasion and nearly two centuries of feudal anarchy and misrule. He abolished many of the extra taxes which had been imposed on the people in previous reigns, and cancelled those laws and regulations which were of an oppressive nature.[1] He took from the peasants one-sixth of the produce as revenue, and protected them from greedy officials.[2] He kept the feudal chiefs under control [3]; and in order to counteract their influence, he raised to prominence two families: the Magres, who were of indigenous origin, and the Chaks who had migrated to Kashmir from Dardistan in the reign of Suhadeva under their leader Lankar Chak. Shamsu'd-Din made the latter his commander-in-chief, and similarly appointed other officers from among the Magres.[4] However, we do not hear much of the activities of these families during the early Shah Mir period. It was in reality not until after the reign of Zainu'l-'Abidin that they began to play an important part in the history of Kashmir.

Shamsu'd-Din introduced a new era called the Kashmiri era in place of the *Laukika* era which had been in force hitherto. The new calendar began with Rinchana's accession and conversion to Islam which was fixed at 720 A. H., and was used in all state documents during the Sultanate period. Its official use, however, ended with the Mughal conquest, although it

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Jamshed treated his younger brother, 'Ali Sher, with kindness, placed confidence in him, and consulted him on all matters relating to administration[12]. But 'Ali Sher was ambitious, and having been incited by some courtiers, he raised the banner of revolt in Avantipur[13] in order to seize the throne. Jamshed tried to conciliate him, but without any success. Meanwhile the Sultan had despatched his son with an army to suppress a revolt in Divasar[14]. 'Ali Sher marched against his nephew and defeated him. But during his absence Jamshed, on the advice of his minister, Laksman Bhatt, decided to capture Avantipur, the seat of his brother's power. He accordingly besieged it, and inflicted great loss on the garrison. But hearing of the approach of 'Ali Sher, he withdrew, and signed a truce for two months with his brother. But while he was absent in Kamraz, 'Ali Sher broke the truce; and having bribed Siraj, who was in charge of Srinagar, he took possession of the capital and declared himself as Sultan[15]. Jamshed, finding himself not strong enough to fight, fled; and after aimlessly wandering about in the Valley for a year and ten months, he died in 1345.[16]

Sultan 'Alau'd-Din (1343-54)

On ascending the throne 'Ali Sher styled himself as 'Ala'u'd-Din. From the few facts that are known about his reign of about eleven years, he appears to have been an able, just, and strong ruler. He continued the work of consolidation and reform begun by his predecessors. He brought back the peasants to the lands from which they had fled during Zulju's invasion, and he repeopled the towns which had been

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continued to be used in the rural parts of the Valley until very recently[5].

Towards the end of his days he left the administration in the hands of his two sons, Jamshed and 'Ali Sher[6]. He died in the year 1342[7] and was buried in Sumbal near Andarkot. Unknown and, probably, of humble origin, Shamsu'd-Din came to Kashmir in search of fortune, but he took advantage of the political chaos that prevailed in the country, and by his great energy, resource, and perseverance he rose to power and founded his dynasty. Although he ruled only for three years, yet, even in such a short time, he was able to win the loyalty of his subjects who looked upon him as their saviour.[8]

Sultan Jamshed (1342-43)

Shamsu'd-Din left two sons, Jamshed and 'Ali Sher. Jamshed being the eldest succeeded to the throne. He had already gained experience in state affairs in the time of Udayanadeva, when he and his brother had acted as governors of Kamraz and Maraz[9]. During the reign of his father also he had been closely associated in the government of the country. He proved to be a good ruler, and endeavoured to promote the welfare of the people. He founded the town of Jamnagar in the pargana of Adavin, [10] and built a bridge over the Jehlam at Sopur [Sopore], and inns for travellers at various places.[11] However, he was not shrewd enough to realise the danger which threatened him and adopt measures to overcome it.

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them, but there were still some left who refused to pay tribute and defied the authority of the government. Shihabu'd-Din, therefore, undertook a campaign against the refractory chiefs. He put to death those who refused to surrender, but spared those who promised to remain loyal to him. It was after he had assured himself that there would be no trouble in the Valley during his absence, that he set out to conquer the neighbouring territories which had once formed part of the kingdom of Kashmir.

According to the Kashmir accounts Shihabu'd-Din marched *via* Baramula, and occupied Pakhli and Swat. Next he invaded Multan, Nu'man and Kabul, Ghazni and Qandahar, all of which he occupied one by one[25]. He then crossed the Hindu Kush and invaded Badakhshan.[26] After conquering it, he retraced his steps towards Gilgit and Dardu which also he annexed. He then advanced to conquer Baltistan and Ladakh. The ruler of Kashgar to whom these provinces belonged at the time, on hearing of Shihabu'd-Din's invasion, set out with a large force and offered him battle in Ladakh. Although the Kashmir army was numerically inferior to that of Kashgar, yet it was victorious, and Baltistan and Ladakh were occupied. Meanwhile, Shihabu'd-Din's commander Malik Candra reduced Kishtwar and jammu[27]. Shihabu'd-Din himself, on the other hand, marched from Ladakh to Nagarkot (Kangra), and after occupying it, encamped on the plains of the Sutlej. Here in 1361 he was met by Udakpati, the Raja Nagarkot, who had just returned with the spoils from a raid into the territory of Firuz Shah Tughlaq.

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depopulated[17]. The same year that he became Sultan, the Valley, owing to the untimely rains which destroyed the crops, suffered from a severe famine. But he did all he could to alleviate the sufferings of his subjects[18]. He erected many beautiful buildings at Andarkot, which he made his capital, and founded the town of 'Ala'u'd-Dinpur, now a part of Srinagar, after his own name.[19] He promulgated a law by which a childless widow, if immoral, was not entitled to get a share of her husband's property from her father-in-law.[20] During his reign the Lavanayas rose in revolt and then fled to Kishtwar. But they were pursued and captured by him, and were brought back to Kashmir where they were thrown into prison and their leaders executed[21]. 'Ala'u'd-Din died in the year 1354,[22] and was buried in his new town of 'Ala'u'd-Dinpur.[23]

Sultan Shihabu'd-Din (1354-73)

Nothing is known of the early life of 'Ala'u'd-Din's son and successor, Shirashamak (the little milk-drinker),[24] except that he had been associated by his father in the government of the kingdom. On ascending the throne he assumed the title of Shihabu'd-Din. He was full of energy and vigour, and his ambition was to establish his sway over the neighbouring territories. But before undertaking any wars of aggression, he first directed his attention to consolidate his position in his own country. Taking advantage of Zulju's invasion and the chaos that followed it, the feudal chiefs had made themselves independent, and had built strong forts. Shihabu'd-Din's predecessors had reduced many of

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comprised Gilgit, Dardistan and Baltistan to the north, Ladakh to the east, Kishtwar, Jammu, Chamba and other hill states to the south, and most of the northern and western Punjab and the Peshawar district to the west. As regards Shihabu'd-Din's relations with Firuz Shah it is possible that the two rulers met each other while the latter was carrying on a campaign against the Raja of Nagarkot, and also, perhaps, concluded a treaty[33]. But there is no reliable evidence to support the view that there was a conflict between the Sultans of Kashmir and Delhi, or that a marriage alliance was concluded[34].

Shihabu'd-Din was not only a proved warrior but also an able administrator, and governed his kingdom with firmness and justice. But one of his regulations, which survived for a long time, that for seven days in every month the *hanjis* (boatmen) would be required to serve the king without wages, was very oppressive[35]. His exaction of Baj also weighed heavily upon the people[36]. He was, however, a patron of learned men and opened a number of schools where the Qur'an, Hadis, [Hadith] and Fiqh were taught[37]. He was tolerant towards his non-Muslim subjects, and the statement of Persian chroniclers[38] that, towards the end of his reign, he indulged in iconoclastic activities is incorrect. For Jonaraja, who is the earliest and most reliable authority, says that when, owing to the expenses caused by his campaigns his treasury became empty, and Udaya sri, his minister, suggested to melt the brass image of Buddha and coin the metal into money, the Sultan replied in anger: "Past generations

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Shihabu'd-Din defeated him, and compelled him to surrender his booty and acknowledge his sovereignty[28]. Then with 50,000 horse and 50,000 foot Shihabu'd-Din set out to conquer Delhi, but was opposed by Firuz Shah Tughlaq on the banks of the Sutlej. Since the battle between the rulers of Delhi and Srinagar was indecisive, peace was concluded. It was agreed that all the territory from Sirhind to Kashmir was to belong to Shihabu'd-Din, while the rest lying to the east was to go to Firuz Shah[29]. A marriage alliance was also contracted by which Firuz Shah's two daughters were married to Shihabu'd-Din and his brother Qutbu'd-Din, while Shihabu'd-Din's daughter was married to Firuz Shah.[30] This was Shihabu'd-Din's last campaign, after which he returned to Kashmir and devoted the remaining nine years of his reign to the work of reform.

The Kashmir chronicles, describing the conquest of Shihabu'd-Din, have indulged in wildly exaggerated claims which are not supported by the contemporary authorities. Just as Kalhana had two centuries earlier exaggerated the military exploits of his hero Lalitaditya, [31] so Jonaraja, and after him other Kashmir chroniclers, magnified the achievements of Shihabu'd-Din. There is, for example, no evidence to suggest that Shihabu'd-Din crossed the Hindu Kush and occupied the territories beyond it. In fact both Nizamu'd-Din and Firishta say that, realising the difficulties of crossing that mountain, he retraced his steps.[32] Similarly the claim that the Sultan conquered Kabul, Ghazni and Qandahar appears to be fantastic. In reality his conquests covered a much limited area. These

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descendant of Ramacandra, whom the Sultan gave the village of Chadura as jagir[47].

The last years of Shihabu'd-Din's life were not happy. He became attached to his queen Laksmi's sister's daughter named. Lasa who had been brought up by her. She was beautiful and clever, and by her intrigues she contrived to alienate the Sultan from his queen, and then secured the exile of their two sons, Hasan Khan and 'Ali Khan[48]. Shihabu'd-Din was very unhappy on account of his separation from the princes, but owing to the great influence which Lasa exercised over him, he could not rescind his order. However, just before his death in 1373, he wrote to his sons, who were in Delhi, to return to Srinagar. Only Hasan obeyed the summons, but did not arrive in time to see his father[49].

Sultan Qutbu'd-Din (1373-89)

On the death of Shihabu'd-Din his younger brother Hindal ascended the throne under the title of Qutbu'd-Din. He was not only an able ruler, but a man of culture, a poet and a patron of learning[50]. After suppressing the conspiracy of Udayasri he founded a new town and named it Qutbu'd-Dinpur after himself[51]. Towards the end of his reign a severe famine took place, but the Sultan did his best to relieve the sufferings of the people by distributing among them food, grain, and money[52].

Soon after his accession he was called upon to deal with a serious revolt in Lohara. Towards the end of

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have set up images to obtain fame and earn merit, and you propose to demolish them. Some have obtained renown by setting up images of gods, others by worshipping them, some by duly maintaining them, and some by demolishing them. How great is the enormity of such deed!"[39]

Like his father and uncle, Shihabu'd-Din also built a new town. It was situated on a delightful spot at the confluence of the rivers Jehlam and Sind and was called Shihabu'd-Dinpur after his own name. He erected in it a mosque, and laid out gardens and parks for the benefit of the people[40]. Meanwhile, in 1360[41], Kashmir suffered from a serious flood which engulfed the whole town of Srinagar. There was a great loss of life and property; and the Sultan had to take refuge in a hill fort. When, therefore, the waters subsided he laid the foundations near Koh-i-Maran of a new town which would not be affected by floods and named it Laksminagar after his queen Laksmi[42]. One more town which the Sultan built was Shihabpur, now called Shihampur, and is a part of Srinagar[43]. He is also said to have erected many mosques and monasteries.

Shihabu'd-Din was good judge of men, and took into his service persons known for their ability and integrity. Udayasri and Kota Bhatta were two of his ministers in whom he placed great confidence[44]. Udayasri was both his chief and finance minisster[45]. But Kota Bhatta after some time renounced the world and retired to a forest. His military commanders were Malik Candra, Sura Lolaka,[46] and Acal Raina, a

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the prince who would sooner or later try to usurp the throne. Others led by Udayasri organised a conspiracy to assassinate the Sultan and set up Hasan as ruler. But the plot was discovered. Hasan on the advice of Udayasri fled to Loharkot, and strengthened the rebels. Udayasri was however imprisoned; but in consideration of his ability and past services he was released and forgiven on the mediation of Sura Rani, Queen of Qutbu'd-Din. In spite of this Udayasri tried to escape and join the prince. But he was caught and beheaded. Qutbu'd-Din then secured the surrender of Prince Hasan by bribing the garrison, and had him thrown into prison[56].

The most important event in the reign of Qutbu'd-Din was the arrival of Sayyid 'Ali Hamadani, commonly known as Amir-i- Kabir or 'Ali-i-Sani, [Ali Thani] who was one of the most remarkable personalities of the fourteenth century Muslim world. Born in Hamadan on Monday the 22 nd October, 1314, he descended from the famous family of the 'Alavi Sayyids of the town[57]. His father Sayyid Shihabu'd-Din was a governor of Hamadan. But Sayyid 'Ali did not show any interest in the affairs of his father; instead he came under the spell of his maternal uncle, Sayyid 'Ala'u'd-Din who was a learned Sufi. 'Ala'u'd'-Din was the first teacher of Sayyid 'Ali, and taught him Qur'an at an early age[58]. Later, Sayyid 'Ali became the disciple of Shaikh Sharafu'd-Din Mahmud 'Abdu'llah Mazdaqani, the *pir* of his uncle[59]. He also read under Shaikh Ruknu'd-Din 'Ala'u'd-Daula and then under Qutbu'd-Din Nishapuri. After attending on

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Shihabu'd-Din's reign, its chief had revolted against his authority, and had refused to pay tribute. The Sultan had sent some troops against him, but they had fled ignominously. When Qutbu'd-Din became ruler he despatched Lolaka, who had also served his brother, to reduce Lohara. Its chief, realising that resistance was futile, decided to surrender, and sent his Brahman agents to negotiate the terms of capitulation with the Kashmiri commander. But the latter, thinking that the chief was not serious in his advances, had the messengers seized and punished as spies. This filled the chief with great anger, and he decided not to surrender, but to die fighting like a Ksatriya. He and his followers came out of the fort, and attacked the besiegers with arrows and stones. Lolaka was killed, and his forces were repulsed. Thus Lohara remained unsubdued[53].

Soon after, Qutbu'd-Din was faced with a conspiracy headed by his chief minister Udayasri. We have seen that Shihabu'd-Din before his death had summoned his two sons from exile in Delhi. Only Prince Hasan had set out towards Kashmir; but on hearing at Jammu the news of his father's death, he decided not to proceed further[54]. Qutbu'd-Din, however, pressed him to return to Srinagar and become his heir-apparent as he had no son of his own[55]. Prince Hasan, thereupon, came, and was received with affection and cordiality by the Sultan. But soon after his arrival misunderstandings arose between the uncle and the nephew owing to the machinations of the courtiers. Some of them incited the Sultan to imprison

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left Hamadan with 700 Sayyids, and set out towards Kashmir where he expected to be safe from the wrath of Timur[65]. On hearing the news that Sayyid 'Ali was approaching Srinagar, Sultan Qutbu'd-Din went out with his chief officials and received him with great warmth and respect, and brought him and his followers to the city. Sayyid 'Ali took up his residence in an inn in 'Ala'u'd-Dinpur. There he constructed a *suffa* (raised floor) where he used to perform his prayers, which were also attended by Qutbu'd-Din[66].

At this time the number of Muslims in Kashmir was very small; a majority of the population being still Hindu. Moreover, in dress, manners and customs there was nothing to distinguish them from the Hindus[67]. In 'Ala'u'd-Dinpur, for example, there was a temple which was visited every morning both by the Sultan and his Muslim subjects. To avert famine Qutbu'd-Din once performed the *yagna*, and distributed large gifts to the Brahmans,[68] and in contravention of Islamic teachings he had two wives who were sisters[69]. Sayyid 'Ali denounced these practices and called upon Qutbu'd-Din to divorce one wife and retain the other. The Sultan, in accordance with the saint's instructions, divorced the elder sister and remarried the younger named Sura who became the mother of his two sons, Sikandar and Haibat. He also enjoined the Sultan to wear the dress common in Muslim countries. He held discussions with the Brahman priests and in this way secured many converts to his faith[70].

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Shaikh Ruknu'd-Din for six years, he learnt at the feet of Taqiu'd-Din Dusti for two years[60]. But after the latter's death he went back to his former teacher Sharafu'd-Din Mahmud who put the finishing touches to his education[61].

After completing his education, Sayyid 'Ali set out on his travels on the advice of his teachers who regarded this as a valuable means of acquiring knowledge. Convinced of its usefulness, he later undertook many travels. According to some authorities he journeyed round the world three times[62]. He made several pilgrimages to Mecca, and visited various parts of the Muslim world[63]. But the most important of his travels was his visit to Kashmir which had such far-reaching consequences for that country.

Sayyid 'Ali arrived for the first time in Kashmir in September 1372. After a stay of four months, he proceeded to Mecca on a pilgrimage, and thence returned to Hamadan. The second time he came was in 1379 in the reign of Qutbu'd-Din. He remained in the Valley this time for two and a half years, and returned to Turkistan *via* Ladakh. He came for the third and last time in 1383, and left after a stay of about a year for Turkistan[64].

The third visit of Sayyid 'Ali was caused by the third invasion of Persia by Timur in 1383 when he conquered 'Iraq, and decided to exterminate the 'Alavi Sayyids of Hamadan who, until his time, had played an important part in local affairs. Sayyid 'Ali, therefore,

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SULTAN SHAMSU'D-DIN AND HIS SUCCESSORS

According to a tradition among the Shi'ites of Kashmir, Sayyid 'Ali Hamadani is said to have been a Shi'ite. Nuru'llah Shushtari in his work *Majalisu'l Mu'minin* has included him in the list of Shi'ite for he regards all great Sufis, philosophers, and scholars of medieval Islam as Shi'ites. A modern scholar also thinks that Sayyid 'Ali was a Shi'ite on the ground that in some of his poetic compositions he has extolled the virtues of 'Ali and his successors[77]. But this is an insufficient proof, for many Sunni saints have also written similar panegyrics, glorifying the family of the Prophet. Thus there is no sufficient evidence to support the view that Sayyid 'Ali was a Shi'ite; on the other hand, there is reason to believe that he was a Sunni Muslim. In his work *Zakhiratu'l-Muluk* he extensively quotes the traditions on the authority of 'Aisha, the wife of the Prophet, and the early Caliphs[78]. He has profound reverence for the first four Caliphs whom he regards next to the Prophet, as the best of creation[79]. In one place he strongly says that it is the duty of every Muslim to spread the principles of Sunnat *va al-Jama 'at*[80]. Ja'far Badakshi, a disciple of Sayyid 'Ali, says that he was at first a Hanafite but later he became a Shafiite. However, he did not object if any of his followers wished to remain a Hanafite; nor did he oppose the practice of the Hanafite law in Kashmir[81].

As a Sufi, Sayyid 'Ali belonged by two intermediaries to the Order of Shaikh Ahmed 'Ala'u'd-Daula Samnani (d. 1335-36), and attached himself to the Kubraviya Order[82]. But although the Sayyid did not

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Anxious not to antagonise his non-Muslim subjects, Qutbu'd-Din did not follow every advice of the Sayyid, but he held him in great reverence, and visited him every day. Sayyid 'Ali gave him a cap which, out of respect, the Sultan always wore under his crown. The subsequent Sultans followed the same practice until the cap was buried with the body of Fath Shah according to the latter's will[71]. After the Sayyid had been for about a year in the Valley, he decided to leave. The Sultan tried to persuade him to postpone his departure, but the Sayyid refused, and departed with some of his followers, leaving behind Maulana Muhammad Balkhi commonly called Mir Haji Muhammad, at the request of the Sultan, to give him guidance in matters relating to the *Shari'a*[72]. The Sayyid travelled to Pakhli, and thence proceeded to Kunar near Kafiristan. Here he fell seriously ill and died on January 19, 1385, and was buried in Khatlan[73].

Sayyid 'Ali was a great scholar in Arabic and Persian. He is said to have been the author of more than one hundred works on logic, jurisprudence, philosophy, political science, ethics, Sufism and commentaries[74]. He is said to have written a treatise on the science of physiognomy styled *Qiyafat-nama.*[75]. Another work on the same subject called *Fi ' Ilmu'l-Qiyafa* has been noticed in the Bodleian Catalogue[76]. *Zakhiriatu'l-Muluk* is his work on political science and ethics, and contains his ideas on government and the duties of subjects and rulers. Besides being a prolific prose writer, Sayyid 'Ali also wrote Persian poetry.

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named Sahaka treacherously killed[89]. The chronicles do not tell us if Sura adopted any measures to check the growing power of Rai Magre. But when Sikandar took the reins of government in his hands he decided to get rid of Rai Magre. He sent him with a force to invade Ladakh, hoping that he would be slain there. But instead Rai Magre succeeded in conquering Ladakh, and returning victorious to Srinagar. And as his relations with the Sultan worsened, he raised the banner of revolt. Sikandar first tried to persuade him to give up his refractory conduct, but having failed in the attempt, he sent Laddaraja to attack him from the front, while he himself advanced to attack him from the rear. On the approach of these forces, Rai Magre fled without offering any resistance. But he was seized by the chief of Banihal, and sent to Sikandar. The Sultan spared his life in consideration of his past services, but threw him into Prison where, after sometime, he committed suicide[90].

In 1398 the storm of Timur's invasion burst on India. He had left Samarqand in April 1398, and encamped on the banks of the Indus on the 20th September, at the very spot where Jalalu'd-Din Khawarizm Shah had fled before Chingiz Khan by crossing the river. Here ambassadors from various countries came to offer their allegiance. Sultan Sikandar too, in order to avert the invasion of his kingdom, sent an envoy to the conqueror, professing submission. Timur was satisfied at this, and dismissed the envoy after issuing a *farman* that Sikandar should join him with army at Dipalpur.[91] Sikandar accordingly

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himself found any order, his indirect disciple, Sayyid Muhammad Nurbakhsh, was the founder in the ninth century of the Nurbakhshiya sect which played an important role in the religious and literary life of Persia for many centuries[83]. In reality, however, the real value of Sayyid 'Ali's work in Persia and Central Asia has yet to be properly assessed. But it appears that he achieved his greatest triumphs in the Valley of Kashmir, where even today after the lapse of more than 450 years his influence continues to be felt.

Sultan Sikandar (1389-1413)

Qutbu'd-Din was an old man when a son was born to him and was named Sikandar. To celebrate the occasion festivities were held, gifts and jagirs were conferred upon the courtiers, and prisoners were released[84]. Later his queen gave birth to another son who was named Haibat[85].

On Qutbu'd-Din's death in the year 1389, his eldest son Sikandar ascended the throne; but as he was a minor, his mother Queen Sura acted as Regent[86].The chronicles do not describe the events of her Regency clearly and fully. She, however, appears to have been a women of ability and strong character. She ruled with a firm hand, and put to death her own daughter and son-in-law for conspiring against Sikandar[87]. Meanwhile Rai Magre, who was the prime minister, had grown powerful and ambitious. He had Prince Haibat Khan, Sikandar's younger brother, whom he suspected of being his rival, poisoned[88]. Similarly he had a minister

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Baramula, he learnt that Timur had crossed the Indus and proceeded towards Samarqand. He therefore returned to Srinagar[95].

Sikandar did not make any new conquests; he only tried to retain the kingdom left to him by his father. In the early part of his reign he led an expedition against the ruler of Ohind named Firuz, who had renounced his authority, and compelled him to recognize his suzerainty and give him his daughter Mira in marriage[96].

After reducing Firuz, Sikandar sent an army under Suhabhatta and Laddaraja to subdue Pala Deo, Raja of Jammu, who had not paid him tribute. Realising the futility of resistance, the Raja submitted, and sent his daughter as a present to Sikandar . But as soon after he again declared his independence, Sikandar sent Suhabhatta and Jasrat Khotar[97], with whom he had entered into an alliance, with a large force against the Raja. They defeated him and sacked Jammu.

Of the Sultan's private life the chronicles tell us very little. They only mention that he abstained from wine and other intoxicants, and that on religious grounds he did not listen to music. He appears to have been a man of puritan temperament, and banned all the gay celebrations which were so common a feature of the reigns of Zainu'l-'Abidin and other Sultans[98]. He also never indulged in extra-marital relations, and kept within the legally prescribed limit. Sikandar first married Mira, the daughter of the king of Ohind, who

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set out from Srinagar, but on reaching the village of Jabhan he was informed that Timur's ministers wanted from him a contribution of 30,000 horse and 100,000 *durusts* of gold, each weighing two and a half *misqals*. He therefore returned to Kashmir to collect the sum[92].

When Timur occupied Delhi after annihilating the army of Mahmud, the last Tughlaq ruler, he sent Uljah Timur Tufuqdar, Faulad Bahadur and Zainu'd-Din to Sikandar to demand explanation why he had not come to pay his homage[93]. The envoys proceeded to Srinagar and after meeting the Sultan, returned, accompanied by his representatives led by Maulana Nuru'd-Din. Meanwhile Timur had left Delhi, and they joined him in the neighbourhood of Jammu. On February 24, 1399, Nuru'd-Din presented a letter from Sikandar, which was written in respectful terms and expressed his desire of waiting on him. On being asked why Sikandar had not proceeded to Dipalur as ordered, he explained that the Sultan had advanced as far as Jabhan, but returned to collect money and horses which he expected would be demanded from him. On hearing this Timur rebuked his ministers, and told them that the tribute demanded from Sikandar was beyond his means, and that he should have been asked to pay according to his capacity. Timur then sent the envoys accompanied by Mu'tamad Zainu'd-Din with the message that Sikandar should not consider himself bound to fulfil the demands made by his officers, but that he should proceed at once and meet him on the banks of the Indus after twenty-eight days.[94]. On receiving these instructions, Sikandar again set out, but on reaching

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could be inherited by their descendants. Some of the more prominent among those who entered the Valley during this period were Sayyid Hasan Shirazi, formerly Qazi in Shiraz, whom Sikandar made Qazi of Kashmir; Sayyid Ahmad from Isfahan, who was the author of many books; Sayyid Muhammad from Khwarizm who was a good poet; Sayyid Jalalu'd-Din, a saint from Bukhara, who came with his followers; Baba Haji Adham, and his disciple Baba Hasan, the logician, from Balkh[109]. Also at this time came Sayyid Muhammad Hamadani, the son of the great Sayyid 'Ali Hamadani. He was born in Khatlan in the year 1572, and was twelve years of age when his father died. Sayyid 'Ali left a testament for his son with Maulana Sarai to be sent to Khwaja Ishaq Khatlani and Maulana Nuru'd-Din Badakhshi, two of his most prominent disciples. In this will Sayyid 'Ali advised his son to travel extensively when he grew up, for this would help him to build up his character, broaden his mind and develop his personality[110].

Muhammad Hamadani read under Khwaja Ishaq and Maulana Nuru'd-Din, and when he attained the age of sixteen the testament of his father was given to him. Muhammad Hamadani visited many places, and then in 1393, at the age of twenty-two, he arrived in Kashmir with three hundred Sayyids and learned men. He wrote for Sultan Sikandar *Risala-i-Sikandari,* a work on Sufism, in Persian.[111] He was also the author of a book on logic in Arabic[112]. He was greatly revered by the Sultan who regarded him as his teacher and guide. He

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became the mother of his three sons, Mir Khan, Shadi Khan and Mahmud Khan[99]. He then married Sobha Devi[100] who gave birth to two sons named Muhammad and Firuz,[101] and two daughters who were married to the rulers of Ohind and Sindh[102]. But Sikandar did not have the same affection for the sons of his second wife as for those by his first[103]. As a result when Firuz grew up, Sikandar exiled him from Kashmir in order to prevent a war of succession with his step-brothers[104]. During his last illness he called his three sons in his presence, and advised them to avoid strife and remain united. He then appointed Mir Khan, the eldest, as his successor and conferred upon him the title of 'Ali Shah. He breathed his last in 1413.[105]

Sikandar was an able, generous and brave ruler, and looked after the welfare of his subjects. He put an end to many oppressive taxes like Baj and Tamgha and others, which had hitherto been realised from the people[106]. He established schools for the education of boys, and founded hospitals where medicine and food were supplied free[107]. He endowed a number of villages for the benefit of travellers, scholars, Sayyids and other deserving persons. The Shaikhu'l-Islam was made responsible for the administration of these endowments[108].

Sikandar was a great patron of learned men and Sufis; and during his reign many of them came to Kashmir from Persia and Central Asia. The Sultan treated them with respect, and gave them jagirs which

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Sikandar also constructed another mosque near the spring of Bawan. It was two-storeyed with a beautiful garden around it, having all kinds of flower plants and fruit trees. The place was so pleasant and picturesque that Sikandar used to spend his time there in spring. His example was followed by the subsequent rulers of Kashmir until the time of Muhammad Shah[121].

Sikandar was the first Sultan of Kashmir to enforce the *Shari'a* with great strictness in the country. He banned the use of wine and other intoxicants, and prohibited gambling, the dancing of women and the playing of musical instruments like the flute, lute, and guitar, allowing only the playing of drum and fife for military purposes[122]. And in order to see that the Islamic law was properly enforced, he established the office of the Shaikhu'l-Islam. These measures were adopted by Sikandar under the influence of Sayyid Muhammad Hamadani. It was also due to his advice that the Sultan imposed two *pals* of silver as *Jizya* upon the non-Muslims, and prohibited *Sati* and the application of *qashqa* (tilak—a religious mark made by the Hindus on the forehead)[123]. However, the chief person who prevailed upon Sikandar to adopt an intolerant attitude towards the non-Muslims was Saifu'd-Din, who was in this respect his evil genius. The Sultan at first resisted him, but in the end gave in, and allowed himself to be used as an instrument of his minister's religious fanaticism. Saifu'd-Din, with the zeal of a new convert, called upon the Brahmans to embrace Islam. As a result some became Muslims.

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converted a number of Hindus to Islam, but the most important man to embrace Islam under his influence was Suhabhatta, Sikandar's chief minister and commander-in-chief, whom he named Saifu'd-Din, and after the death of his first wife Bibi Taj Khatun, the daughter of Sayyid Husain Baihaqi, married his daughter. Muhammad Hamadani stayed in Kashmir for nearly twelve years[113]. He left Kashmir owing to his differences with Sayyid Muhammad Hisari and proceeded on a pilgrimage to Mecca. From there he returned to Khatlan where he died on April 30, 1450, and was buried near his father[114].

Sikandar was a great builder. He founded the town of Sikandar-pur,[115] and there built a magnificent palace and a grand Jami'Masjid. The latter's architect was Sadru'd-Din Khurasani. It had 372 wooden columns, each 40 yards in height and 6 yards in circumference. There were four archways, each of which contained 32 of these columns[116]. Sikandar also built a mosque in the town of Bijbehara, and laid the foundation-stone of an 'Id-gah in Srinagar which was completed by his son Sultan 'Ali Shah[117]. Besides the mosques, he built *khanqahs* (hospices) in the villages of Vachi and Tral[118] and in the town of Sopur [Sopore][119]. Sayyid ' Ali Hamadani had built a raised floor in 'Ala'u'd-Dinpur for the congregational prayers. Sikandar constructed there in 799/1396-97 a hospice known as Khanqah-i-Mu'alla. He endowed it with the three villages of Vachi, Shaura, and Nunahwani, and appointed Maulana Muhammad Sa'id as trustee[120].

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wonderful that there should (here) be a hundred and fifty of them."[127] Abu'l-Fazl also wrote that some of the temples were in a state of perfect preservation;[128] and similarly Jahangir remarked that "the lofty idol temples, which were built before the manifestation of Islam, are still in existence."[129]

Thus the iconoclastic activities of Sikandar have been greatly exaggerated. In many instances it was not Sikandar who pulled down the temples, but what really happened was that when the inhabitants of a certain locality embraced Islam, the temple was converted into a mosque, or it went into ruins due to sheer neglect. Many suffered because of earthquakes[130]. But these factors were ignored, and Sikandar was held responsible for any temple that was found in a crumbling state. Some writers have even gone to the extent of suggesting that he employed gunpowder to destroy temples. Stein, however, observes: "The early use of gunpowder in Kashmir has been doubted by others, and I believe rightly. Earthquakes and the imperfect fitting of the stones, observable in all Kashmirian temples, are sufficient to explain the complete ruin, notwithstanding the massive character of the materials."[131] Another writer similarly observes: "It is scarcely possible to imagine that the state of ruin to which they have been reduced (referring in particular to the temples of Avantipur), has been the work of time or even of men, as their solidity is fully equal to that of the most massive monuments of Egypt. Earthquakes must have been the chief agents of their overthrow."[132]

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Those who refused had to pay *Jizya*[124]. Others who would not or could not pay, decided to leave Kashmir and take refuge in India. When Saifu'd-Din heard of this, he ordered the guards on the frontiers not to allow any one to leave the Valley without a permit. But in spite of these restrictions many Brahmans succeeded in escaping from the country[125].

In their misplaced zeal for their faith, Sikandar and Saifu'd-Din were also responsible for the destruction of some images and temples. But the statement of Jonaraja that there was no village or town where temples were not razed to the ground, is fantastic[126]. It must be remembered that as Saifud-Din had been a Brahman, Jonaraja resented his conversion to Islam and therefore magnified his iconoclastic activities. The Muslim chroniclers also speak of the wholesale destruction of temples, but they distort facts owing to their anxiety to represent Sikandar and his minister as champions of Islam. The falseness of their view is evident from the fact that if we add up the list, given by them, of temples allegedly destroyed, then not a single one should have remained standing. In reality, however, even over a hundred years after Sikandar, a large number of temples were still in existence in the Valley. Mirza Haidar Dughlat, who ruled Kashmir for ten years, writing in about 1546 observed: "First and foremost among the wonders of Kashmir stand her idol temples. In and around Kashmir there are more than 150 temples.... In the rest of the world there is not to be seen, or heard of, one building like this. How

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SULTAN SHAMSU'D-DIN AND HIS SUCCESSORS

We have seen that Sikandar had exiled his son Firuz. But after the Sultan's death, the latter returned to Kashmir to contest the throne with the support of the Turkish troops, supplied to him by the ruler of Hindustan[137]. Saifu'd-Din at once dispatched Laddaraja and Gaurabhatta who completely routed Firuz. In reward for their services, Saifu'd-Din appointed Laddaraja as Mir Bakhshi, and Gaurabhatta as governor of Kamraj[138].

Soon after, however, Laddaraja, having incurred the displeasure of Saifu'd-Din, tried to flee the country. But he was seized by Hamsabhatta, Saifu'd-Din's brother, and thrown into prison. Meanwhile, Saifu'd-Din died of consumption, and his death was followed by a struggle for power between Hamsabhatta and Gaurabhatta whom he had entrusted with the government before his death. Hamsabhatta, in order to strengthen himself against his rivals, released Laddaraja, and with his help defeated and killed Gaurabhatta. At the same time realising that Laddaraja might prove a dangerous rival, he assassinated him. In this way he became the most powerful man in the kingdom[139].

There was, however, one man whom he regarded as a thorn in his side. This was Shahi Khan, 'Ali Shah's younger brother, who was not prepared to submit to him. Hamsabhatta, therefore, made up his mind to destroy him too. But Shahi Khan came to know of it, and with the consent of 'Ali Shah and the support of the Thakurs,[140] he had him assassinated in the 'Id-

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Sultan 'Ali Shah (1413-20)

Sikandar's eldest son, Mir Khan, who ascended the throne under title of 'Ali Shah, showed no ability as a ruler. He was weak and fickleminded, and allowed himself to be dominated by Saifu'd-Din who continued as chief minister[133]. Other ministers who enjoyed 'Ali Shah's confidence, were Laddi Magre and Sankar, the physician. But this roused the jealously of Sifu'd-Din who decided to destroy them. His plan was to strike at his rivals when all of them, including the sons of Laddi Magre, particularly the eldest Muhammad Magre, the governor of Bangil,[134] would be present at the capital. To lull them into a false sense of security he began to bestow favours on Laddi Magre's another son Taji Magre and to consult him on all important matters. He then invited Muhammad Magre to Srinagar under the pretext of seeking his advice. But the latter suspected treachery and fled. When Saifu'd-Din heard of this, he had Laddi Magre, who was ill, his remaining sons and Sankar, treacherously seized and thrown into prison. Meanwhile Muhammad Magre had taken refuge with Govind, chief of the Khasas, who lived in the neighbourhood of Ohind, and whom he regarded as his friend. But Govind betrayed him to Saifu'-Din's men. Muhammad Magre was seized, shackled, and imprisoned in the fort of Biru[135]. He, however, succeeded in making good his escape through the efforts of his foster-brothers. Saifu'd-Din became alarmed at this news, and he had Laddi Magre put to death. Laddi Magre being a popular man, his execution caused considerable grief to the people[136].

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trust for 'Ali Shah, he relinquished it in his favour and left the Valley[146]. But the truth appears to be that Zainu'l-'Abidin retired without offering any resistance because he did not find himself strong enough to fight 'Ali Shah. He proceeded to Sialkot and sought the help of Jasrat Khokar[147]. The latter promised to support him, but this angered 'Ali Shah who set out to punish the Khokar chief. The ruler of Jammu, however, advised him not to descend from the mountains until he had arrived with his army, for the Khokars were clever fighters[148]. But 'Ali Shah ignored him and continued his march. The result was that he was defeated by Jasrat at Thanna[149]. After this victory Zainu'l-'Abidin proceeded to Srinagar , where he was welcomed by the people. This however did not end the civil war. Jonaraja does not record the subsequent events, but from study of the Persian chronicles it appears that 'Ali Shah reorganized his army, and, with the support of the Jammu forces, invaded the valley to recover the throne. Zainu'l-'Abidin, hearing of this, advanced via Baramula, and defeated his brother at Uri[150]. According to Haidar Mailk, 'Ali Shah was captured and imprisoned in the fort of Pakhli where he died after a few years[151]. But Srivara, who is a contemporary authority, says that he was seized by Jasrat and put to death by him. He does not state if this was done by the orders of Zainu'l-'Abidin, but it is unlikly that Jasrat should have carried out the execution without the consent of the Sultan, his friend and patron[152].

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gah on the day of *'Idu'z-Zuha.* 'Ali Shah, who had been chafing under the yoke of Hamsabhatta, was glad at his fall, and in his place appointed Shahi as a prime minister. This appointment was hailed by the people, for the young Prince had endeared himself to them by his courage, intelligence, and tact.[141]

Not long after these events, 'Ali Shah, who was of a religious bent of mind, decided to give up his throne and go on a pilgrimage to Mecca, and to spend the rest of his days there. Shahi Khan, however, tried to dissuade him from this step by telling him that serving the people was the best form of devotion to God. But his advice had no effect, and 'Ali Shah left Kashmir after entrusting the kingdom to him, and giving him the title of Zainu'l-'Abidin[142].

From Srinagar 'Ali Shah proceeded to Jammu to bid farewell to its raja who was his father-in-law. On the way interested persons pointed out the difficulties and privations of the journey to Mecca; and, when he reached Jammu, his father-in-law disapproved of his decision[143]. Ali Shah, who never possessed a strong will, yielded to these criticisms. He gave up the idea of going on a pilgrimage, and returned to Kashmir via Rajauri, accompanied by the armies of the rulers of Jammu and Rajauri to claim his throne[144]. Jonaraja states that Zainu'l-'Abidin was angry with 'Ali Shah for having brought a foreign army, but that the affection for his brother got the better of him, and so he gave up the throne and left Kashmir[145]. Another chronicler says that once Zainu'l-'Abidin had held the kingdom as a

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24. *Ibid*., 37; B.S., f. 18b

25. Jonar., 37; Munich MS., f. 55a

26. Munich MS., ff. 55a-b.

27. Jonar., 37.

28. B.S., f. 18b.

29. Firishta, T.A., and the Munich Ms., say that he was the son of Shah Mir and brother of 'Ala'u'd-Din. But this is wrong. Jonaraja calls him at one place the son of Shah Mir (p.35) but at another place mentions him as the grandson of Shah Mir (p.26). All other Persian chronicles state that Shihabu'd-Din was the son of 'Ala'u'd-Din.

30. Munich MS., ff. 55b-56a; B.S., ff. 20b-21b; H.M., f 108b.

31. H.M., f. 108b. later chronicles add Transoxiana to the list.

32. B.S., ff. 20a-21a; Hasan, ff. 105b-106b; H.M., ff. 108a-b,

33. Munich MS., ff. 56a-b; Jonar., p. 39; T.A., iii, 428.

34. B,S, f. 20b; Hasan, 106b; H.M., 108-109b.

35. N.A., f. 28a; G.A., ff. 113a-b.

36. See Reinaud, *Memoire sur (Linde),* pp, 190 sqq.

37. Munich MS., ff. 55b-56a; B.S., ff. 20b-21b; H.M., f. 108b. S.A., pp. 2-3, attributes these conquests to Sayyid Hasan, son of Taju'd-Din, a cousin of Sayyid 'Ali Hamadani.

38. J.R.A.S., xlvii, (1918), P. 453. There is some confusion regarding the date of Shihabu'd-Dins meeting with the Raja of Nagarkot and Firuz Shah. From a study of Firuz Shah's reign it appears that this meeting must have taken place either in 1360 or later for, before this period, Firuz was busy elsewhere. (M.T., i. 327-30). But the difficulty raised from the statement of Jonaraja that in 1360 a flood

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REFERENCE

1. Munich MS., 53b; T.A., iii, 426

7. *Ibid.*

8. Jonar., 26-7

9. Firishta, 649.

10. T.H., ii, 85b.

11. Jonar., 33. T.A., iii, 427; Munich MS., f, 54a.

12. Jonar., p.33.

13. *Ibid.*,p. 26.

14. Jonar., pp.. 24, 33; Munich MS., 50a.

15. N.A., 23a; G.A., f. 109a.

16. Jonar., p.35

17. *Ibid.*,33; Munich MS., f. 54a. The statement in T.A., iii, 427 that Jamshed was suspicious of his brother from the beginning is not supported by Kashmir chronicles.

18. It is a village situated in Lat. 33°55′ Long. 75° 4′ on the right bank of the Jehlam about 17 miles south-east of Srinagar. It lies on the site of the town of the same name founded by Raja Avantivarman.

19. Munich M.S., f,54a.

20. *Ibid.*, ff. 54b-55b; Jonar., pp.33-5

21. Jonar., p.35.

22. W.K., f. 16a

23. Jonar., 37.

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51. Jonar., pp.38, 41. Candra Damara of Jonaraja is Malik Chandra of Baharistan and Chandra Dar of Haidar Malik. Sura Lolaka of Jonaraja is Shahrawal of the Persian chronicles.

52. B.S. f. 21b; Hasan, f. 107a; H.M., f. 109a. N.A. Adds the name of Sayyid Hasan, the son of Sayyid Taju'd-Din, a cousin of Sayyid 'Ali Hamadani, as one of the Sultan's commanders.

53. Jonar., pp. 42 sqq; Munich MS., f. 57a.

54. Jonar., pp. 47-8; Munich MS., f. 59a.

55. W.K.., f. 17b.

56. It is a part of Srinagar consisting of the two Mohallas of Langarhatta and Pir Haji Muhammad.

57. Jonar., p. 53; Munich MS., 59b.

58. *Ibid.*, f. 58-b.; Jonar., pp. 47-8.

59. Munich MS., f. 59a.

60. Jonar., 49.

61. *Ibid.*, pp. 50-2; Munich MS., ff. 58b-59a.

62. *Journal Asiatique*, ccxl, p.54.

63. F.K., ff. 135a-b; also Ja'far, *Khulasatu 'l-Manaqib*, f. 90a.

64. *Ibid.*, f. 136a; also *Nafahatu 'l-Uns*, p. 515; *Riyazu 'l-'Arifin*, p. 169; *Habibu 's-Siyar*, iii, p. 87.

65. F.K., ff. 136b-37a.

66. *Nafahatu 'l-Uns*, p. 515; *Habibu 's-Siyar*, iii, p. 87.

67. *Ibid.*

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took place in Kashmir, and that Shihabu'd-Din was present at the time in Srinagar. Shihabu'd-Din might have left Kashmir to meet Firuz after the flood, but according to the Kashmir chronicles he proceeded directly from Ladakh to Nagarkot, and the flood took place on his return from the campaign. This means that the meeting took place before 1360. But that was impossible as is clear from the movements of the Delhi Sultan. It may be that the flood occurred in about 1362 and not in 1360 as mentioned by Jonaraja. It is also possible that Shihabu'd-Din met Firuz early in 1360 and then returned to Srinagar at time of the flood

39. Neither Jonar, nor any history of Firuz, Shah's reign refers to this conflict or a marrie alliance. B.S. and Haidar Malik's history too do not mention which also describe Shihabu'd-Din marriage alliances with the rulers of Sindh and Kabul. But these are legendary accounts.

40. B.S., f 19a; Hasan, f. 103a ; H.M., f. 107a.

41. H.M., f. 107 b.

42. N.A., ff. 29a-b; G.A., f. 110b.

43. B.S., f. 22a; Hasan, 107b; H.M., 109b.

44. Jonar., p.44.

45. Jonar., p. 42; Munich MS., f. 56b; B.S., f.21b. Shihabu'd-Dinpur is now called Shadipur (See p.16 and n. 5, *supra.)*

46. See p. 43n. 2 *supra* for a discussion of the date of the flood.

47. Jonar. P. 41; Munich MS. f. 56b.

48. Muinch MS. 56: also T.H., cited in Sufi, i, 139.

49. Jonar., p. 41; BS., f. 21a.. Udayasri of Jonaraja is Udshahrawal of Persian chronicles.

50. Hasan, 105a.

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85. *Ibid.*,f.6b.

86. *Ibid.*, f. 52b.

87. Ja'far Badakhshi, *Manqabatu'l-Jawahir,* ff. 30b-31a; also F.K., f. 147b.

88. *Journal Asiatique,* ccxl, pp. 55-6.

89. *Ibid.*,p. 56.

90. Jonar., p. 53; Munich MS., f. 59b. The author of this work calls him Sankar. Perhaps it was an abbreviation of Sikandar .

91. Jonar., p. 53.

92. Munich MS., ff. 59b-60a; Firishta, p. 562.

93. Jonar., (Bo. ed.) No. 668. Dutt's translation is here somewhat confused.

94. Jonar., p. 55, calls Rai Magre as Uddaka.

95. *Ibid*

96. Jonar., pp. 55-6.

97. Sharafu'd-Din 'Ali Yazdi *Zafar-nama,* pp. 46-7; *Malfuzat,* ff. 283a-b; See also Munich MS., ff. 60b-61b which gives detailed account of Sikandar's relations with Timur.

98. *Zafar-nama,* p. 164; *Malfuzat,*f. 319a.

99. It was with these envoys that Timur must have sent the two elephants as presents to Sikandar mentioned in B.S., Haidar Malik's *Ta'rikh* and other chronicles.

100. *Zafar-nama,* pp. 164-5; Malfuzat, ff. 319a-b.

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68. F.K. ff. 135a-37a.

69. *Ta'rikh-i-Kabir*, pp. 12-4; also *Journal Asiatique*, ccxl, pp. 61-2.

70. *Ibid.*, p. 62.

71. B.S., f. 24a; Hasan, ff. 109b-110a.

72. H.M., (B.N.) f. 36b.

73. F.K., f. 147a; also S.A., p. 8

74. Jonar., 53.

75. F.K., f. 147b.

76. *Ibid.*, ff. 147b-48b; Hasan, f. 108b; H.M., 110b.

77. Hasan, 110a; H.M., 111a. It is said that when a darwesh heard that the cap had been buried with Fath Shah's body he prophesied that this would mean the end of the dynasty.

78. F.K., f. 151b; *Majmu'a dar Ansab Masha'ikh-i-Kashmir*, f. 111b; Hasan, ff. 110b. One of the Kashmiri nobles who accompanied the saint was Laddi Magre. (S.A., pp. 13-4).

79. *Journal Asiatique*, ccxl, pp. 54-5.

80. See Ethe, i, p. 1021 and Rieu. ii, pp. 835b-36a for the list of his works. Also *Journal Asiatique*, ccxl, pps. sqq and *Yaghma*, iv, No. 8, pp. 337 sqq.

81. Ethe, ii, No. 3057.

82. Bodleian, i, No. 1241,28.

83. *Journal Asiatique*, ccxl, pp. 54 sq.; and *Yaghma*, iv, No. 8, pp. 337-38."

84. 'Ali Hamadani, *Zakhiratu'l-Muluk*, ff. 6a sqq.

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113.B.S., f. 34b. These charitable institutions survived until the seventeenth century.

114.*Ibid.*

115.*Ibid.*,

116.F.K., f. 155 a.

117.*Ibid.*, f. 156a; B.S., f. 25b; S.A., p. 18.

118.*Ibid.*:H.M., f. 112b.

119.S.A., p. 27; Miskin, *Ta'rikh-i-Kabir*, p. 25, says Muhammad Hamadani stayed for 22 years.

120.*Ibid.*; B.S., f. 36b; Da'ud Mishkati, *Asraru'l-Abrar*, f. 45a. See also S.A., pp. 18 sqq. for Muhammad Hamdani's life in Kashmir. The date of the Sayyid's death as 809/1377-8 given in W.K., f. 20b. is incorrect.

121.It was situated at the foot of the Koh-i-Maran. It is now called Nauhatta and is a part of Srinagar.

117. B.S., f. 35a; H.M., 114a.

118. B.S., f. 35a; Hasan, f. 113b; H.M., f. 114a; see also T.H., __I, 140b sq.

119. Vachi is a village situated at the eastern foot of Zainapur Udar. Tral is a small town situated in Lat. 56' Long .75 10' on the sloping plateau at the foot of the mountains east of the Volur pargana of which it is a Tahsil station.

120. T.H., i, ff. 140b sqq.

121. B.S., f. 35b; T.H., i, 113b-114a. According to a tradition Muhammad Hamadani gave a *Lal-i-Badakhshan* to Sikandar in return for these villages. But this seems to be unreliable for the endowment. *Futuhat-i-Kubraviya* says it was given as a present to Sikandar by the Sayyid.

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101. Munich MS., 61b; Firishta, p. 653. It is absurd to say that Timur took with him Shahi Khan, the future Zainu'l-'Abidin. Shahi Khan was not even born when Timur invaded India.

102. Jonar., pp. 58-9; Munich MS., f. 62a.

103. He was the son of Shaikha Khokar, the brother of Nusrat Khokar. He had been taken away into captivity by Timur, and returned to the Punjab on the conqueror's death. (See for more details about the Khokars, Rose's *Glossary of the Punjab Tribes and Castes*, ii, pp. 546-7; and I.A., xxxvi, pp. 1-8.

104. See Chapters IV and V.

105. Jonar pp. 58-9; Munich MS., f. 62a.

106. We know from the chronicles that Sikandar married the daughter of the Raja of Jammu (Jonar. Bo. ed. No. 729). Probably she was known as Sobha Devi. But if she was a different person, then it means that Sikandar had three wives.

107. Firuz was Sikandar's son from Sobha Rani and was not an adopted son. (Jonar., Bo. ed. Nos. 737, 856; also Jonar. P. 64). Jonar. P. 59, wrongly says that the sons of Sobha were adopted children.

108. Munich MS., f. 63a.

109. Jonar. (Bo.ed.), No. 737.

110. *Ibid.*, No. 856; Munich MS., f. 63a.

111. Jonar., p. 61; T.A., iii, 435; Firishta, p. 655.

112. T.A., iii, 433; T.H., ii, f. 89b. Baj had been collected under Shihabu'd-Din (BS., f. 19a). Tamgha was a demand in excess of the land revenue, but Baj was simply a tax or toll. Tamgha seems to have been introduced into Kashmir from Persia or Turkistan. Baj and Tamgha were levied on horses, cows, goats, silken clothes etc., (Wilson's *Glossary* pp. 5 sq.)

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136. Biru is Bahurupa of Jonaraja. It is a pargana on the south-west side of the Valley and is situated in Lat. 34o 1′ Long. 74o 38′.

137. Jonar; pp. 61 sqq; Munich MS., ff. 65a-b.

138. The name of this ruler is not mentioned in the chronicles. But perhaps he was Khizr Khan, the founder of the Sayyid dynasty, who was ruling Delhi at this time.

139. Jonar., p. 65; Munich MS., f. 66a.

140. Ibid., 66b; Jonar., p. 69.

141. Thakkura was a title of the small nobility of Rajputs from the hill territories to the south of Kashmir. (Stein. BK. VII, No. 290; Lawrence, Valley, p. 306).

142. Jonar., p. 69; Munich MS., f. 67a.

143. Jonar., pp. 70-1. Jonaraja does not say that Mecca was 'Ali Shah's destination, but it is mentioned by the Persian chronicles.

144. Jonar., p. 71; Hasan, f. 115a; H.M., f. 115a-b.

145. Munich MS., f. 68a; T.A., iii, 434.

146. Jonar., p. 72.

147. Munich MS., f. 68a.

148. Ibid.,. f. 68b; T.A., iii, 434.

149. Jonar., pp. 74-5; Munich MS., f. 69a.

150. Yahya as-Sirhindi, Ta'rikh-i-Mubarak Shahi, p. 194; T.A., i, 271.

151. H.M., f. 115b; Hasan, f. 115a; N.K., f. 28b.

152. H.M., f. 115b.

153. Sriv, BK. I, Chapt. iii, No. 106 (Bo. ed.)

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122. B.S., 34b; Hasan, ff. 114a-b; H.M., f. 114b.

123. B.S., f. 26a; Jonar. pp. 65-7; H.M., f. 113b.

124. Jonar., p. 60; also Jonar., (Bo. ed.) No. 1077; Munich MS., f. 64b; B.S., f. 26a. For more details about jizya see Chapter XI.

125. H.M., f. 113b; Jonar., p. 60, says the Hindus had to pay heavy fines for retaining their religion. This fine was nothing else but *jizya.*

126. Jonar., pp. 65-7.

127. *Ibid.,* p. 60.

128. T.R., p. 426.

129. A.A., ii, 124.

130. *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri,* ii, 150.

131. Lawrence, *Valley,* pp. 162, 213.

132. Cited in Lawrence, Valley, p. 190 n. 1; see also J.A.S.B., xiv, p. 64, where Maclagen in his article "On Early Asiatic Weapons" says that gunpowder was not known in the time of Sikandar, and that the destruction was caused by earthquakes and Time. He illustrates his view by refering to the temples of Payech and Martand which, in about a quarter of a century since Cunningham expressed his view, have suffered owing to the fingers of Time and the moderate movements of the earth. The earthquakes of June and July 1828 caused considerable destruction of house property in Srinagar, and large masses of rocks are said to have been detached from the hill sides and thrown down.

133. Moorcroft ii, p. 150.

134. Jonar., p. 61; Munich MS., f. 66a.

135. It is a pargana in Kamraj. Its old name was Bhangil. But by the time of Haidar Malik its name had been changed to Bangil.

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CHAPTER V

ZAINU'L-'ABIDIN THE GREAT (1420-70)

Of all the Sultans who sat on the throne of Kashmir, Zainu'l-'Abidin was undoubtedly the greatest. He ushered in a period of nearly half a century of peace, prosperity and benevolent rule for his people. He introduced many arts and crafts for which Kashmir has become famous ever since. He promoted learning, music, and painting, and made Kashmir the centre of a great culture. He won the loyalty and affection of his subjects who called him Bud Shah or he Great King, a name by which he is remembered even today by the people of Kashmir. He acquired a halo in popular imagination, which still surrounds his name in spite of the lapse of nearly five hundred years.

Conquests

The reign of Zainu'l-'Abidin , unlike that of his grandfather Shihabu'd-Din , is not noted for any stirring military exploits, for he was not inclined to wage wars for self-aggrandisement; his main interest lay in developing the arts of peace. At the same time he was not prepared to give up his claims to the territories which had been reduced by his grandfather and were of strategic and commercial importance to Kashmir . Ladakh and Baltistan had been conquered by Shihabu'd-Din , but they reconquered them, they had again asserted their independence during the weak rule of 'Ali Shah. Zainu'l-'Abidin, therefore, collected a large army in the pargana of Lar, and set out accompanied by his commanders, Hilmet Raina, Ahmad Raina and Muhammad Magre. Having crossed

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Relations with Foreign Countries

Zainu'l-'Abidin's reputation for justice and patronage of art and culture had spread far and wide. This led to exchange of embassies and the establishment of friendly relations between him and the rulers of various countries. Thus Mirza Abu Sa'id (1452-67), the Timurid ruler of Khurasan and Transoxiana, sent an envoy to the Sultan with Arab horses and Bactrian camels as presents. Zainu'l-'Abidin in return sent him saffron, paper, musk, shawls, crystal cups and other articles [8]. According to the *Nawadiru'l-Akhbar,* Shah Rukh (1404-47), son of Timur, who was great parton of literature and science, sent Zainu'l-'Abidin elephants and precious stones. The Sultan thanked him and sent presents in return, but it wrote that he would have appreciated it better if he had received learned men and books instead of precious stones. Shah Rukh, thereupon, sent him six learned scholars, and a number of manuscripts[(9)].

Zainu'l-'Abidin had friendly relations with the rulers of other countries, too. The Sharif of Mecca, and the kings of Gilan and Egypt sent him presents[10]. Dongar Singh, Raja of Gwalior, hearing that the Sultan was interested in music, sent him valuable works on the subject. After his death his son Kirat Singh maintained friendly relations with the Sultan[11]. There was also an exchange of embassies and gifts between Zainu'l-'Abidin and the rulers of Sindh, Bengal, and Tibet, Sultan Mahmud of Gujarat, Mahmud I of Malwa, and Buhlul Lodi[12].

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the Zoji-La Pass he compelled the Ladakhi chief 'aBum lde IV to acknowledge his sovereignty. He then secured the allegiance of the Balti ruler[1]. The account in Persian chronicles that in this expedition Zainu'l-'Abidin met the ruler of Kashgar in Ladakh, and that although his forces were numerically inferior, he defeated his rival who was in occupation of the province, appears to be spurious, for it is not supported by Jonaraja who is a contemporary authority for his period. This tradition is in reality nothing but a repetition of an earlier encounter between Sultan Shihabu'd-Din and the ruler of Kashgar. However, it was probably in the course of this campaign that Zainu'l-'Abidin invaded Guge,[2] and in the village of Shel[3] saved a gold image of Buddha from the hands of some tribal people, whom Francke wrongly regards as Muslims[4]. He also captured the town of Kulu which was in the possession of the Ladakhis (Bhauttas). However, it appears that, shortly after, these territories renounced the authority of the Sultan, for we find that in 1451 he had to send his eldest son Adham Khan to coquer Ladakh;[5] and then again, between 1460 and 1470, he himself led the expedition[6] . But the details of this last campaign have not been recorded in the chronicles.

Zainu'l-'Abidin next directed his attention towards Ohind whose chief had been subbued by Sikandar, but had declared his independence in the reign of 'Ali Shah. Although he was supported by the ruler of Sindh, the Sultan defeated him and established his suzerainty over him[7].

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his retreat. He first won over the inhabitants of Drava by giving them money and land, then, with their help, succeeded in capturing Pandu. The latter along with members of his family were brought before the Sultan, who ordered the execution of all men fit to bear arms. Only women and children were spared, and sent to live in the distant village of Trahgam. One of the sons of Pandu was Husain Chak, a posthumous child, who became the father of ten sons[18].

The last twenty years of the Sultan's reign were disturbed by the rebellion of his sons, Adham, Haji, and Bahram. Zainu'l-'Abidin had designated, according to an earlier precedent in the family, his younger brother Mahmud as heir to the throne[(19)]. But as Mahmud died, he proclaimed Haji heir-apparent. Since this aroused the jealousy of Adham, the eldest son, the Sultan, apprehending danger, thought it inexpedient to keep the brothers together at Srinagar. He, therefore, in 1451, sent Adham to invade Ladakh which had become independent under its king bLo-gros-mchog-Idan (1440-70). The prince was victorious in the campaign, and having conquered the province, returned to the capital with the booty which he placed at the feet of the Sultan[(20)]. The latter then dispatched Haji to Lohara as its governor. There in 1452, at the instigation of some of his evil counsellors, Haji decided to invade Kashmir and usurp the throne. His wise and loyal officers, however, dissuaded him against such a course, pointing out that the advice to revolt was given by interested persons who were anxious to return home to their amilies,and that it would be a mistake to take up arms

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Zainu'l-'Abidin's relations with Jasrat continued to be as friendly as before. Jasrat had carved out for himself an independent principality in the Panjab on his return from Samarqand. But being very ambitious, he wanted to extend it[13]. As Zainu'l-'Abidin was indebted to him for his help in the fight against 'Ali Shah, he gave him military assistance. Jasrat, taking advantage of the weakness of Mubarak Shah, the Sayyid ruler of Delhi, conquered the whole of the Punjab. But his attempt to conquer Delhi failed[14]. Alarmed at his activities, Mubarak Shah sent a force to crush him. Jasrat being defeated, fled to Kashmir , and received the protection of Zainu'l-'Abidin [15].

Rebellions

In the early part of the reign there was a rising led by Pandu Chak, the leader of the Chaks. He organised a strike as a protest against the corvee system, so that when Zainu'l-'Abidin visited Kamraj, he found that no unskilled workers were available. The Sultan, however, forced them to work. But when he left, Pandu and his followers set fire to the palace and other government buildings in Kamraj. Fearing retaliation., Pandu sent away his family and the families of his followers to Drava, while he himself fled to the hills of Trahgam[16]. When the Sultan heard that his place had been burnt he sent a force which destroyed all the houses of the Chaks in Trahgam. Pandu escaped to Drava[17] and joined his family there. Meanwhile, the Sultan rebuilt the palace. But Pandu returned, and having again set fire to the palace, withdrew to Drava. Zainu'l-'Abidin, thereupon, decided to attack Pandu in

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Adham to make inquiries about the conduct of those persons who had instigated Haji to revolt. Adham Confiscated their properties, and inflicted great sufferings on their families. In consequence many persons out of fear deserted Haji and went over to Adham. The Sultan now proclaimed Adham his heir-apparent, and appointed him governor of Kamraj[26].

Soon after these events, in 1460, Kashmir was subjected to a severe famine caused by a heavy fall of snow, which destroyed the rice crop. This brought great misery to the people who were compelled to subsist on roots and leaves; and as a result large number died of starvation. The price of rice rose from 300*dinars* to 1,500 dinars *per kharwar;* and even at that price it was not easily available. Taking a advantage of the scarcity, grain merchants made huge profits. The Sultan was greatly distressed, and did his best to alleviate the sufferings of his subjects. He distributed rice from his stores, and , after the famine was over, he cancelled the debts which the people had incurred in order to buy rice. Many persons had pawned their valuables in exchange for grain. The merchants were ordered to return the articles to their owners and receive money for the grain which they had supplied[27].

Hardly had the inhabitants of the Valley recovered from the effects of the famine when, two years later, they fell victim to another calamity. This was the flood caused by a severe rainfall. Men and beasts alike perished, and thousands of houses were destroyed. Fortunately, however the rice crop was not

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against the Sultan who was too powerful to be defeated. But Haji ignored their suggestions, and, with the help of the Khasas, entered Kashmir *via* Hirapur[21]. Hearing of this the Sultan set out with his army. He was however anxious to avoid the conflict, and so he sent a Brahman messenger to persuade his son to give up his refractory conduct. But Haji's soldiers cut off the Brahmans ears. When Haji came to know of it he felt ashamed at the brahaviour of his men, and decided to make peace with his father. But his officers opposed him, reminding him that they had begged him not to rebel against the Sultan, but he had ignored their advice. If he were now to make peace, while he himself would be reconciled to the Sultan, they would be left in the lurch and suffer, owing to this attitude of his followers, Haji had no other alternative except prepare for battle with his father[22].

Meanwhile, the Brahman agent had returned to the Sultan. When the latter saw his condition, he was filled with great anger, and at once moved his army in order to punish Haji and his followers. He encountered the rebels at Pallashila[23]. The fight continued from morning till sunset, and led to a great loss of life. In the end Haji's forces were defeated and fled, pursued by Adham, who killed many of them. He wanted to continue the pursuit and seize Haji, but he was recalled by his father. Haji, having collected the remnants of his army, escaped to Hirapur and thence to Bhimbhar.[24] The Sultan returned to Srinagar and there built a minaret of the heads of the enemy, and ordered the execution of the prisoners of war[25]. He then entrusted

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After heavy fighting Adham was routed. And as his followers were fleeing across the Jehlam at Sopur [Sopore] , the bridge gave way, and three hundred of them were drowned in the river. After this Sultan himself proceeded to Sopur [Sopore] and consoled the inhabitants of their sufferings[32].

Meanwhile the Sultan, learning of the arrival of Haji in the neighbourhood of Baramula, at once despatched Bahram to receive him. The two brothers greeted and embraced each other, and then proceeded to join their father(33). When Adham came to know of this he became panic-stricken, and having crossed the Indus, sought refuge in the Sind Valley(34). Zainu'l-'Abidin returned to Srinagar with Haji who was once again declared heir-apparent(35). His followers were forgiven for their past conduct and were given *khil'ats* and jagirs by the Sultan(36). Of fair complexion, polite, modest and energetic, Haji was a favourite of Zainu'l-'Abidin (37). The Sultan , however, did not like Haji's excessive addiction to wine, which was undermining his health. He tried to persuade him to give up the vice, but in vain(38). In consequence he became disgusted with him. Some of the nobles, who favoured Adham , taking advantage of this state of affairs invited him to come to Srinagar. Adham thereupon immediately set out towards Kashmir (39). But Hasan, Haji's son, who was in Punch, marched to Rajauri to intercept him. A severe engagement took place between the uncle and the nephew. Hasan was defeated and Adham reached Srinagar safely. Here the brothers were reconciled to each other, and both Haji and Bahram welcomed

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affected. The Sultan, apprehending the recurrence of a similar calamity, built on the high banks of the Jehlam the Town of Zainatilak, near Andarkot, which had been destroyed due to the flood. It was in this new city that Jai Singh of Rajauri was received by the Sultan, and appointed Raja of the kingdom of Rajauri[28].

Zainu'l-'Abidin had hoped that with the appointment of Adham as heir-apparent and governor of Kamraj, all the internecine troubles would be over. But he was disillusioned. Adham spent his time in hunting or in the society of women. He was cruel, vain, and rapacious, and oppressed the inhabitants of Kamraj. He resumed the lands which had been granted by the Sultan, and robbed the people of their wealth. Following his example, his officials also exploited the inhabitants, and indulged in rape and plunder[29]. When the Sultan learnt of this he felt grieved, and admonished Adham. But the latter instead of listening to him raised the banner of revolt. He arrived at Qutbu'd-Dinpur, and then marched to attack his father in Zainagir. Taken by surprise, the Sultan tried to persuade him to give up his refractory conduct. Wiser counsels prevailed, and Adham returned to Kamraj[30].

Zainu'l-'Abidin was not certain if Adham would long remain loyal and peaceful, and so he wrote to Haji to immediately come to his assistance. But before Haji could arrive, Adham attacked Sopur [Sopore] in 1459. Its governor offered resistance, but Adham defeated and killed him and destroyed the town[31]. Hearing of this, the Sultan sent a large army to Sopur [Sopore].

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crack. Bahram in order to promote his own interest tried to foment dissension between Adham and Haji. After succeeding in separating them he made common cause with Haji and plotted the destruction of Adham. The latter got alarmed and sought the protection of his father. But the Sultan called him a coward, and refused to help him. Adham therefore moved to Qutbu'd-Dinpur, and there kept himself on the alert[43].

The closing phase of Zainu'l-'Abidin's life was clouded with private sorrows and public anxiety. He was grieved at the dissensions among his sons, and at their attitude of disloyalty towards him. His wife, Taj Khatun, to whom he had been very devoted, was dead. Many of his trusted friends and counsellors had also passed away,[44] and he had no able minister left who could give him useful advice[45]. His new courtiers were only opportunists and men with no principles, attending him during the day and intriguing with his sons in the night. Thus he saw that owing to the follies and selfishness of his sons and officers, the kingdom was heading towards a catastrophe, and the work of his lifetime was being destroyed[46]. All this saddened him and filled him with a sense of frustration. And as he was no longer strong enough either physically or mentally to fight against the dangerous tendencies around him, he took refuge in religion. He began to pray for his early death to be relieved of his sufferings, and to ask Srivara to recite the *Samhita* which might give him some consolation[47].

Meanwhile the mental powers of the Sultan were decaying. He began to suffer from loss of memory, and

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Adham. But this did not improve matters, for their reconciliation was more apparent than real[40]. Moreover, Adham did not receive the welcome he and his supporters had expected from the Sultan. This was because the latter, having had bitter experience of both Adham and Haji, had begun to bestow favours upon his youngest son, Bahram, whom he wanted to declare as his successor. Zainu'l-'Abidin therefore called him to his presence, and told him that he should not trust Adham who would never forget the part he had played in the war against him. He also warned him against Haji who, he pointed out, would be interested more in his own son Hasan than in him. But Bahram paid no heed to his father's words, and replied that he was not prepared to give up the society of Haji who would always help and protect him. This reply came as a great blow to the Sultan, for he had pinned his last hopes on Bahram[41]. He became so disgusted with his sons that he refused to nominate any of them as his successor. Although his ministers advised him to declare one of them as heir-apparent, he remained adamant. Adham, the Sultan pointed out, was a miser and was surrounded by unscrupulous advisers; Haji was a drunkard, while Bahram was licentious. Under the circumstance, the Sultan thought, his sons should themselves decide the question of succession by force of arms after his death. The one who was the strongest would naturally secure the throne. It was the question of survival of the fittest[42].

Meanwhile, as the Sultan had foreseen, the façade of friendship between the brothers began to

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While the civil strife was going on, the Sultan lay unconscious, dying. In the end he expired at noon on Friday the 12th May, 1470, at the age of 69[52]. His body was carried to the *Mazar-i-Salatin,* and was burried amidist the loud lamentation of his subjects. On that day no one cooked food, and no smoke arose from the houses in the capital.[53] Haji also displayed belated grief, and repented for the sufferings he had caused his father.[54]

Character.

Of Zainu'l-'Abidin's physical appearance there is no description in the chronicles. Srivara says that he was handsome and had a black, flowing beard, but beyond this he does not mention anything[55]. However, it is evident from a close study of the accounts that the Sultan did not possess the physical strength, energy, and prowess of Shihabu'd-Din. Nor is there anything to show that he was a great soldier, for there are no military exploits to his credit. It is true that he defeated "Ali Shah, but this was due more to the help he received from Jasrat Khokar than to his own initiative and valour. And the armies which won victories in Ladakh, Baltistan, and Kulu, were led not by him but by his commanders.

Zainu'l-'Abidin possessed a mild temper, and was very rarely provoked to anger[56]. He was affectionate by nature as is shown by his attitude towards his courtiers and members of his family. Thus when Sivabhatta, his minister, died, he was very

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therefore gave up signing official papers, allowing his ministers to carry on the government. He became apathetic towards everything, so that when he was consulted by his officials about public affairs, he either did not reply, or uttered words without any meaning[48]. Moreover, he began to suffer from the persecution mania. He would not touch the food brought to him, suspecting that it was poisoned and imagining that his ministers were planning his overthrow[49].

Bahram, perceiving that the end of the Sultan was approaching, advised Haji to proceed to the palace, imprison the ministers hostile to him, and seize the horses and the treasury. But Haji rejected the advice, saying that he did not want to do anything to hurt his father; and although he went to the palace, he passed the night in attendance on the Sultan who lay dying[50].

Adham, who was in Qutbu'd-Dinpur, on hearing the reports of his father's approaching death, moved with his army to Naushahr to seize the throne. But instead of marching immediately on the capital, he procrastinated, and passed the night on the outskirts. Meanwhile the treasurer Hasan Kachhi took the oath of allegiance to Haji and handed over the treasury to him. Moreover, Haji on the advice of Hasan and Bahram seized the horses. When Adham heard of this he became struck with panic, and realising that his cause was lost, he fled, pursued by Bahram, who killed a number of his followers. Shortly after Hasan, who was the governor of Punch, hastened to the help of his father. This further strengthened Haji's position[51].

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But it is not known if they were sisters; nor if they were in his harem together. By these Jammu princesses the Sultan had four sons, named Adham, Haji, Bahram and Jasrat[65]. But the last seems to have died young, because we do no find him mentioned either by Srivara or by the Muslim chroniclers.

According to a tradition of doubtful authenticity, Sunder Sena, Raja of Rajauri, sent his eldest daughter Rajya Devi to Zainu'l-'Abidin. The Sultan, who was engaged in sport on the Volur (Wolar) lake, seeing the lady's party coming, inquired "What mother's *doli* is that"? On being told that it was the Rajauri princess sent to him, he said that, as he had called her mother, he could not receive her as a wife. She was, however, not sent back to Rajauri, but was allowed to live in the palace. She became a Muslim, and built the Rajauri Kadal, a bridge over the Mar canal in Srinagar. Sunder Sena then sent his second daughter, who also embraced Islam. Her name was Sunder Devi, but was called by the people Sundermaji[66].

No other Kashmiri Sultan did so much to promote the welfare of his subjects as Zainu'l-'Abidin. He undertook tours to different parts of the country to find out the condition of the people, and how his officers were carrying on the administration. With the same object in view it was his practice, like that of the Caliph Harun ar-Rashid, to disguise himself and roam about the streets of his capital[67]. His espionage system was very efficient, and kept him informed of the activities of his subjects and officers[68]. If he came to

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grieved, and distributed a large sum of money in charity[57]. Similarly, as his other faithful counsellors passed away one by one, he felt lonely and sad. The Sultan was also very fond of his sons; and it was only when they repeatedly rebelled that he turned against them. However, he refrained from punishing them, although if he had adopted a harsher policy many of the troubles of his later reign might have been avoided.

The Sultan possessed a deeply religious nature. He was strict in the performance of his religious duties, praying five times a day and keeping the *Ramazan* fasts during which period he did not take meat[58]. He held the Sufis, learned men, and Brahman pandits in great respect, and granted them lands[59]. He consulted the Shaikhu'l-Islam on affairs of state,[60] and his relations with the 'Ulama were in general cordial.

Our information regarding the private life of the Sultan is very scanty. From the Sanskrit chronicles it appears that he occasionally indulged in wine, but never in excess. He, however, abstained from other intoxicants[61]. There is also evidence to show that he led a moral life. He never kept any concubines; nor did he have more than three wives at a time. He first married Taj Khatun, the daughter of Sayyid Muhammad Baihaqi[62]. She gave birth to two daughters, of whom one was married to her nephew Sayyid Hasan Baihaqi,[63] while the other to the ruler of Pakhli. The Sultan was very devoted to Taj Khatun, and her death, which took place in his old age, greatly affected him. His two other wives were the princesses from Jammu[64].

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quarreled, and the former killed the latter, the Sultan ordered the execution of Sher[77]. In another instance Sa'du'llah, a learned man, whom the Sultan respected, killed a Brahman yogi out of jealousy. Zainu'l-'Abidin consulted the Shaikhu'l-Islam about him and was told that he deserved the punishment of death. However, as Sa'du'llah had committed the crime in a state of drunkenness, the Sultan commuted the death sentence, and instead ordered him to ride on an ass through the market, with his face towards the tail, his beard drenched in urine, his head shaved, his hands tied with the entrails of the deceased, and the spectators spitting on him[78].

The Sultan did not, as a rule, favour the infliction of capital punishment, which he reserved for serious crimes. For ordinary offences he preferred to give milder punishments. Thus he decreed that thieves and robbers should not be executed, nor even be flogged, but were to be put in shackles, and then made to dig earth or work on public buildings[79]. Similarly, the candalas,[80] who earned their livelihood by thieving, were not to be sent to prison, but were to be compelled to carry on agriculture. To those who took to stealing for lack of employment, he gave food[81]. He built charity houses and hospitals for the poor and the sick[82]. If a robbery was committed in a village, the chief men of the place had to pay a fine. In this way robbery was stopped, and men slept in peace in their houses and travelled in safety even through forests and lonely places[83].

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know that they were taking bribes or oppressing the people, he punished them[69]. He abolished the extra taxes and arbitrary fines which his officers realized from the peasants to fill their own pockets[70], and ordered that land sold should be registered on the *bhurja* (birch-bark) so that the sale might not be afterwards denied[71]. Like Asoka, he had his code of laws inscribed on copper plates, which were placed in villages and towns for the enlightenment of the people[72]. The prices of different commodities too were inscribed on copper plates; and a decree was issued that the articles imported by merchants should not be kept hidden in their houses but should be sold to the public at a small profit. This was done to prevent cornering and black marketing[73].

During the reign of Zainu'l-'Abidin copper mines were worked, and their income was set aside by him for his own expenses. Gold dust was also collected from the sandy banks of the rivers, and the government's share of this was one-sixth[74]. Since the melting of gold and silver idols in the reign of Sikandar had brought about a depreciation of these metals, the Sultan ordered coins to be minted from pure copper[75].

Zainu'l-'Abidin had a high sense of justice, and no one who committed a crime was spared, however close he was to the throne. One Mir Shah, who was favourite of the Sultan, killed his wife in a fit of rage. The Sultan refused to pardon him and ordered him to be put to death[76]. Similarly, when his two foster-brothers, Sher and Mas'ud, both of whom enjoyed his confidence,

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around the Manasbal lake. Here on the banks of the lake the Sultan restored the ancient town of Andarkot, and built at Safapur a palace called Bagh-i-Safa, which later became the residence of Mirza Haidar[93].

The Lalkul or Pohur canal carried the waters from the Pohur river to the land around Zainagir, a town which the Sultan founded. This was done by constructing a dam and diverting the waters of the river. As a result the cultivation of rice became possible in that area[94].

The Shahkul or Martand canal diverted the waters of the Lidar river to irrigate the arid plateau of Matan[95]. This enabled the Sultan to introduce the cultivation of sugar-cane on the plateau. The canal is still in existence[96].

The Mar canal or Nalla Mar: previously the surplus waters of the Dal lake flowed out into the Jehlam at Habba Kadal[97]. But Zainu'l-'Abidin diverted the waters of the lake into the Mar canal which he extended up to Shadipur where it emptied itself at the confluence of the Jehlam and Sind.[98] In consequence a large tract of land was recovered for cultivation. The Sultan spanned the canal with seven bridges of masonry. Today it is an important highway of traffic between Srinagar and the Dal.

Owing to these irrigation works, the draining of marshes, and the reclamation of large areas for cultivation, Kashmir became self-sufficient in food, and

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Agriculture.

Zainu'l-'Abidin took keen interest in agriculture. He built floating islands on which crops were sown. He drained the marshes and brought large areas which lay barren under cultivation[84]. He developed the irrigation system by making a number of tanks, canals, and dams[85]. The following is the list of important canals which were constructed by him:-

The Lachhamkul carried the waters of the Sind river to the new town of Naushahr founded by the Sultan. The canal extended to the Jami'Masjid, and then emptied itself into the Mar canal[86].

The Kakapur canal irrigated the lands around the village of Kakapur[87].

The Chakdar canal originated from Nandmarg, and irrigated the plateau of Chakdar[88].

The Karala canal irrigated the Karala country known by its present name of Adavin, lying between Shupiyan and Romuh[89]. It was on the banks of this canal that the Sultan built the town of Zainapur[90].

The Avantipur canal irrigated the lands around Avantipur, and made possible the cultivation of rice crops[91]. A portion of this canal, running as far as the villages of Midpur and Rajpur, is still in existence[92].

The Shahkul or Safapur canal carried the waters of the Sind river across the district of Lar to the lands

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repair and rebuilding of the temples destroyed in the time of Sikandar, but in some cases he himself repaired and rebuilt them. He gave rent-free lands to Brahmans, endowed temples, and did not resume the grants made in the time of the Rajas[106]. In Rainwari (Srinagar), for example there was a large building erected under the Hindu kings where food was supplied free to persons who came from outside on pilgrimage to various sacred places in the Valley. Zainu'l-'Abidin extended the endowment and constructed another building for the accommodation of pilgrims and travellers[107].

We have seen that Sikandar had imposed two *pals* of silver as *Jizya* upon every non-Muslim. Realising that it was a heavy burden, Zainu'l-'Abidin, on the advice of Siryabhatta, reduced it to the normal amount of one *masha* of silver[108]. That he did not entirely abolish the *Jizya* was due to his respect for the opinion and sentiments of the 'Ulama. In actual practice, however, it was as good as abolished, for it was never collected under him[109]. The Sultan also cancelled another exaction which fell only upon the Hindus. The Hindus of Srinagar had to pay a tax to the owner of the land near the junction of the Mar canal and the Jehlam where they cremated their dead. When the Sultan was informed of this, he, at the request of Srivara, abolished it[110].

The Sultan in order to win the good will of his Hindu subjects participated in their festivals. Thus when the monks of Sri Jain monastery celebrated the worship of vessels, he took part in it, and fed the

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rice was cheap[99]. According to Moorcroft, the annual produce of rice in Zainu'l-'Abidin's time was seventy-seven lakhs of *kharwars*[100]. The revenue was realised in kind, and granaries were built to store the grain.[101] Whenever the price of rice went up or there was a famine, the government immediately brought out its stocks to bring down the prices and to feed the people. It is not known as to what was the normal rate of assessment. But from the fact that whenever there was famine the rent was reduced to one-fourth and in some place even to one-seventh,[102] it can safely be concluded that the state's share must have been one-half or one-third of the produce. The state's share in the crops raised by the peasants on the land cleared and brought under cultivation at Zainapur at the expense of the government was one-seventh of the gross produce. The Sultan had this inscribed on the copper plates so that in the future also rulers should realise the revenue at the same rate[103].

Zainu'l-'Abidin and his Non-Muslim Subjects.

One of the most outstanding features of Zainu'l-'Abidin's reign was the just and liberal treatment that was meted out to the non-Muslims. The Sultan allowed the Hindus complete freedom of worship, and recalled those who had fled to Jammu and Kishtwar. He even permitted those Brahmans who had become Muslims under duress to return to their former religion[104]. He banned cow-slaughter, and gave Hindus the right to perform *Sati* and other customs which had been prohibited by his father.[105] He not only permitted the

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Patronage of Letters.

Zainu'l-'Abidin was a great patron of learning and surrounded himself with learned men with whom he was fond of holding discussions[118]. He conferred upon them grants of land and other privileges and, in order to be able to enjoy their constant company, he made arrangements for their residence at Naushahr[119]. That is why, attracted by his patronage, scholars like Sayyid Muhammad Rumi, Sayyid Ahmad Rumi, Qazi Sayyid 'Ali Shirazi, Sayyid Muhammad Luristani, Qazi Jamal, and Sayyid Muhammad Sistani left their countries and emigrated to Kashmir during his reign[120]. Qazi Jamal, who had come from Sindh, was made Qazi by the Sultan[121]. Maulana Kabir had been Zainu'l-'Abidin's tutor, but had gone away to Herat to seek knowledge. The Sultan recalled him, and made him Shaikhu'l-Islam[122]. Mulla Ahmad was a court poet, and was much respected by him. Other poets attached to the court were Mulla Nadiri and Mulla Fathi[123]. Mulla Ahmad and Mulla Nadiri, besides being poets, were also historians, and each wrote a history of Kashmir. Other persons whose society the Sultan enjoyed were Mulla Parsa Bukhari and Sayyid Muhammad Mada'in[124]. Jonaraja and Srivara, authors of the Sanskrit chronicles, were also greatly trusted by the Sultan and were constantly in attendance. Yodhabhatta, another courtier of the Sultan, was not only a great Vedic scholar,[125] but was also conversant with Persian, and had learned Firdausi's *Shah-nama* by heart[126]. He wrote a book on music and a play in Kashmiri verse named *Jainaprakasa* giving an account

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Monks.[111] Similarly every year, on the day of *Nagayatra* and during the festivity of *Ganacakra*, he fed the devotees for five days with rice, meat, vegetables and fruits. He dismissed them on the twelfth day of the moon after presenting them with quilts, money and other things. On the thirteenth he saw the display of lamps on both sides of the river on the occasion of the worship held to celebrate the birth of the Jehlam. Seated in a boat on the river, the Sultan spent the whole night listening to songs and witnessing the worship performed by the citizens[112]. Another festival in which he participated was that of *Caitra*, celebrated in spring. He visited a number of towns on the occasion in order to witness the display of flowers and to enjoy music and dancing.[113]

During his reign non-Muslims held high positions and were trusted by him, for his criterion in making appointments was not the religion of the candidate but his ability[114]. Sivabhatta, a Brahaman, was his physician and a confidant whom he always consulted on important matters[115]. Another person who was his counsellor and stood high in his favour was Tilakacarya, a Buddhist. Two other Brahmans, Simha and Rupyabhatta, were the court astrologers. Karpurabhatta was a Brahman physician, much respected by the Sultan[116]. Siryabhatta was the superintendent of the king's court of justice. The Sultan was so much attached to him that on his death he distributed a large sum of money in charity[117].

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Education.

Zainu'l-'Abidin took great interest in the spread of education in Kashmir. He opened a school near his palace in Naushahr, and placed it in charge of Mulla Kabir. Sometimes he himself used to go there to attend the lectures of the Mulla. For its maintenance, and for granting scholarships to deserving students, he created an endowment with the Mulla as its trustee. The institution survived until the seventeenth century[136]. Another place where education was imparted was the hospice of Shah Isma'il Kubravi, who later in the reign of Hasan Shah became Shaikhu;'l-Islam. Students came from Herat and Transoxiana to learn at his feat[137]. A large *madrasa* was founded at Sir near Islamabad, and Mulla Ghazi Khan was made its principal[138]. At Sialkot there was a Madrasatu'l-'Ulum to which the Sultan contributed six Lakhs of rupees, while his queen gave away her valuable necklace[139]. Zainu'l-'Abidin also built a number of hostels where board and lodging were free for poor students.

The Sultan was very fond of books, and spend large sums of money in collecting them. Before his time the number of Persian and Arabic manuscripts in Kashmir was very small. He, therefore, sent his agents to India, 'Iraq, and Turkistan to purchase them140. In case their owners refused to sell them, his instructions were to secure their transcribed copies and pay the copyists generously141. Sanskrit manuscripts were also purchased in large numbers, and those works which during the reign of Sikandar had been removed to India, were by Zainu'l-'Abidin's efforts brought back142. In

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of his master's reign[127]. Notthosoma Pandit was another Kashmiri poet who composed a book in Kashmiri verse called *Jainacarita* in which he described the life and achievements of Zainu'l-'Abidin[128]. Bhattavatara, influenced by the *Shah-nama* and other Persian works which he had studied, composed the *Jainavilasa* which contained the sayings of the Sultan.[129] Mansur b. Muhammad was a great scholar and wrote the *Kifaya-i-Mujahidiyyah,* a work on medicine, which he dedicated to Zainu'l-'Abidin to whose court he had been attracted by the widespread fame for his justice and liberality. He was also the author of the *Tashrih bi't-taswir,* a treatise on the anatomy of the human body with illustrations, which was dedicated to Mirza Pir Muhammad, grandson of Timur[130].

Zainu'l-'Abidin established a translation bureau in which Persian works were translated into Sanskrit and Sanskrit works into Persian. In this way knowledge was made accessible to those who knew either of these languages[131]. Srivara began the translation of Jami's *Yusuf u Zulaikha* into Sanskrit in the Sultan's reign, and completed it in 1505, and named it *Katha-Kautuka.*[132] Mulla Ahmad, who was a scholar in both Persian and Sanskrit, translated by the Sultan's order the *Mahabharata*[133] and Kalhana's *Rajatarangini*[134] into Persian. The latter work was also translated for Akbar by Shah Muhammad Shahabadi. Later, the Persian translation was rewritten by 'Abdu'l-Qadir Bada'uni by order of the Emperor[135].

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Arts and Crafts.

No Kashmiri ruler ever did so much for the promotion of arts and crafts as Zainu'l-'Abidin. In fact it will not be too much to say that whatever arts we see in Kashmir today owe their existence to him. No doubt the Valley had been famous in Hindu times for its arts and crafts, but they had greatly suffered in the chaos which lasted for over two hundred years preceding the establishment of the Sultanate. Besides, a large number of artists and craftsmen had perished in the course of Zulju's invasion[150]. Zainu'l-'Abidin, however, revived the old industries which had either disappeared or declined, and at the same time introduced new ones.

The Kashmiris were hitherto ignorant of the art of paper-making and book-binding. The Sultan, therefore, sent two persons to Samarqand at government expense to receive training in these arts; and in their absence he supported their families. During their stay in Samarqand one of them learnt the art of manufacturing paper, while the other learnt the art of book-binding. On their return to Srinagar they taught these arts to others[151]. In the Phag pargana the Sultan made arrangements for one of them to make paper, and he was given a village as jagir. The book-binder was also assigned a village. The villages remained in the possession of the descendants of these craftsmen until the time of Haidar Malik, the historian, in the first half of the seventeenth century[152].

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this way the Sultan built up a big library which existed until the time of Fath Shah. It perished in the civil wars and foreign invasions of the later Shah Mir period143.

Zainu'l-'Abidin was not only a patron of learned men, he was himself a scholar and a poet. He knew Sanskrit, Persian, and Tibetan besides Kashmiri which was his mother tongue144. Pandits read out to him from various Sastras,145 while Srivara recited to him the Vasistha Brahmadarsana of Valmiki and the Samhita along with their explanations and annotations[146].

The Sultan is said to have been the author of two works in Persian. One of them was on the manufacture of fireworks in the form of a dialogue—a method which became a model for the Kashmiri writers[147]. Towards the end of his life, disillusioned on account of the revolt of his sons and the disloyalty of his ministers, he wrote another book named *Shikayat* in which he discussed the vanity and transitoriness of this world[148].

The Sultan also composed poetry in Persian under the *nom de plume* of *Qutb,* and was in the habit of exchanging repartees in improvised verse with his poet-laureate, Mulla Ahmad. Once due to the intrigues of some of the courtiers, who were jealous of the poet, the Sultan turned against him and exiled him. On reaching Pakhli, Mulla Ahmad composed four couplets and sent them to the Sultan, who was so delighted with them that he immediately ordered his recall[149].

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famous for its musicians[158]. Yodhabhatta was a well-known musician, and wrote a book on music which he dedicated to the Sultan[159]. Mulla 'Udi, who had come from Khurasan, was in playing the lute another great. Another great musician[160] . Mulla Zada too had come from Kurasan, and was an expert made of tortoise shell. Srivara also played on the lute. He possessed a melodious voice and sang Persian songs in chorus. Jamil was not only a poet and a painter, but also a musician and sang beautifully in Persian[161].

Buildings.

Zainu'l-'Abidin was a great builder, but unfortunately, with the exception of the tomb of his mother and the tomb and mosque of Madani, which are in a dilapidated condition, not a single building of his time has survived. He founded the new town of Naushahr, now a part of Srinagar, and made it his capital. He adorned it with splendid houses for his officers, courtiers, and learned men[162]. But the most magnificent edifice which he constructed there was a palace of wood which, as described by Mirza Haidar Dughlat, had twelve storeys, each containing fifty rooms, halls, and corridors. It was surmounted by a golden dome, and its spacious halls were lined with glass.[163]

Besides Naushahr, Zainu'l-'Abidin founded the towns of Zainapur, Zainakot and Zainagir;[164] and in all these places he constructed magnificent buildings. In Zainagir, a spacious palace was built and was surrounded by a picturesque garden[165]. The construction

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The great interest which Zainu'l-'Abidin took in the development of arts and crafts is further evident from the fact that if he came to know that an artist or a craftsman from 'Iraq, Khurasan or Turkistan was on a visit to the Valley, he would induce him to teach his people whatever he knew. In fact, sometimes, the Sultan would not permit him to leave Kashmir until he had done so.[153] It was perhaps in this way that the Sultan introduced for the first time in Kashmir the use of the weaver's brush and loom, and the weaving of silk cloth. The patterns on the silk cloth were so exquisitely made that the Valley became famous for it. Kashmir also became well-known for its shawls in the Sultan's time[154]. From the account of Srivara it appears that Zainu'l-'Abidin was endowed with a spirit of inquiry and inventiveness. Thus he knew how to make fireworks, and he trained one Habib in the art. Before his time the powder used for fireworks was imported from outside, and was not easily obtainable. But the Sultan taught the people how to manufacture it, and, as a result, it became a common thing[155]. It was under his influence that his mechanics invented new weapons of war[156]. However, there is no evidence to suggest that these weapons were guns or cannons using gunpowder[157].

Music

Unlike his father Sikandar, who had banned music, Zainu'l-'Abidin was a great patron of it, and, as we have seen, he used to spend some of his evenings in the company of singers and dancers. He liberally rewarded them, and in his reign Kashmir became

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and towns rest houses where he stayed during his tours to the different parts of the kingdom[174]. Besides, inns were constructed for travellers on the main roads. Villages were endowed for their maintenance, and food was supplied free[175].

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of the Jami' Masjid in Srinagar, started by Sikandar, was completed by Zainu'l-'Abidin[166]. The latter also, like his brother 'Ali Shah, constructed a bridge, and named it after himself as Zaina Kadal[167]. A great achievement of the Sultan was the construction of a causeway along the Dal lake to the Phag pargana[168]. Another causeway was built from Andarkot to Sopur [Sopore], and the income of a village was set aside for its maintenance[169].

In ancient times there existed an island in the north-east corner of the Volur (Wolar) lake, but it had become submerged in water. Zainu'l-'Abidin decided to reclaim the island in order to make it a storm-refuge for boats. He had stones poured into the lake, and in this way, after great efforts, land was raised above the water level. He named the island Zainalank, and on it, in 847/1443-4, he built a palace, a mosque, and a garden[170]. The palace had four storeys. The first was constructed of stones; the second of bricks and the third and fourth of timber. The mosque was built of stones[171]. The *hanjis,* carpenters, masons and others who had been employed in the construction of the buildings, were awarded the income of the parganas of Khuyahom in perpetuity[172].

During the later part of his reign the town of Sopur [Sopore] was destroyed by fire. The Sultan built there a palace with the materials of the one at Baramula, which was pulled down. He also constructed in the town a swinging bridge[173]. As already mentioned, he built for himself in important villages

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REFERENCE

14. Munich MS., ff. 69a-b: T.A., iii, 435.

15. Jonar., p. 79. See *Cam. Hist. Ind.*, iii, 209-12, for Jasrat's activities.

16. Trahgam or Trigamma is a big village in the Lolab Valley. It is about 25 miles north-west of Baramula. It should not be confused with Trigam which is in Paraspur pargana opposite the junction of the Jehlam and the Sind.

17. This was the name for the Kishanganga Valley from below Shardi as far as Karnav.

18. B.S., ff. 52a-53a.

19. Munich MS., f. 74a; T.H., ii, f. 103b.

20. Sriv, pp. 105-6; Munich MS., f. 74b; I.A., xxxvii, p. 189.

21. Sriv., pp. 106-8.

22. *Ibid.*, 109-10; Munich MS., f. 74b.

23. It is a *karewa* near Shupiyan at a distance of about 33 miles south of Srinagar on the route to Rajauri. In the time of the Mughals there was an inn where travellers changed horses and halted.

24. Munich MS., ff. 75a-b; T.A., iii, 442-3; also Jonar., 112 sqq.

25. Munich MS., f. 75a; T.A.,iii, 443.

26. *Ibid.*

27. Jonar., pp. 117-19; Munich MS., 75b

28. Jonar., pp. 120-3.

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REFERENCES

1. B.S., ff. 50a-51a; Hasan, f. 121b; H.M., f. 121a. See for more details about 'aBumlde, Francke, *History of Western Tibet,* pp. 75sqq. But the name of the Balti chief who was Zainu'l-'Abidin's contemporary is not known.

2. Guge lies north of Garhwal and Kumaun and is now part of Tibet.

3. Shel is 8 miles south-east of Leh on the Indus. It is Shaya of Jonaraja.

4. Jonar., (Bo. ed.), Nos. 1106-7. Francke in I.A., xxxvii, p. 188, identifies the *mlecchas* with the Muslims. But this is incorrect, for it is unlikely if there were any Muslims in Shel at that time, or at any rate, even if there were any, they could not have been strong enough to seize the gold image of Buddha. Jonaraja does not give the date of the event, but probably it took place between 1430 and 1440. (See I.A. xxvii, p. 188).

5. See *infra,* p. 74.

6. Jonar., p. 103; I.A., xxxvii, p. 188.

7. Jonar., (Bo. ed.), No. 1105.

8. Munich MS., f. 73a; T.A., iii, 440.

9. N.A., ff. 46b-47a; also G.A., f. 126b.

10. Sriv., p. 151; Munich MS., f. 73a; T.A., iii, 440.

11. Munich MS., f. 73a; T.A., iii, 440.

12. Sriv., p. 151: T.A., iii, 440.

13. *Cam. Hist. Ind.*, iii, 209.

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REFERENCE

47. *Ibid.*, pp. 165-7.

48. *Ibid.*, 169-70.

49. *Ibid.*, 170-71.

50. *Ibid.*, 172.

51. *Ibid.*, 172-4; Munich MS., f. 77a.

52. *Ibid.*, Sriv., p. 175.

53. *Ibid.*, p. 178.

54. *Ibid.*, pp. 177-8.

55. *Ibid.*, pp. 174-5.

56. *Ibid.*, p. 167.

57. Munich MS., f. 74a.

58. Sriv., p. 170. According to Sriv., p. 175, the Sultan's lips quivered at the time of his death, and it appeared that he was praying. Probably he was reciting the *kalima.*

59. Jonar., p. 90; Munich, MS., f. 71a.

60. Jonar., p. 80.

61. For the Sultan's views on the bad effects of alcohol see Sriv., p. 159.

62. Sriv., p. 157. Srivara calls her Vodha Khatona. Perhaps Vodha is a corruption of Makhdum, which was also her name, or of Bod which means big.

63. B.S., ff. 29b-30b.

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29. *Ibid.*, 125-6, Munich MS., f. 75b.

30. Sriv., 126-8; Munich MS., f. 75b.

31. *Ibid.*, Sriv., pp. 128-9.

32. Munich MS., f. 75b; T.A., iii, 444.

33. Munich MS., 76a; T.A. iii, 444.

34. It is a narrow valley opening into the north side of Kashmir, a few miles north-west of Srinagar. It lies between Lat. 75° 30′ Long. 74° 50′.

35. Sriv., p. 131; Munich MS., f. 76a.

36. *Ibid.*, Sriv., p. 137.

37. *Ibid.*, p. 132.

38. *Ibid.*, pp. 158-60; Munich MS., ff. 76a-b.

39. Adham had gone to the Sind Valley and from there had moved on to Outer Hills.

40. Sriv., pp. 160-1; Munich MS., f. 76b.

41. Sriv., pp. 161-2.

42. *Ibid.*, 162-3.

43. *Ibid.*, 168-9; Munich MS., f. 76b.

44. Sriv., p. 158.

45. *Ibid.*, p. 163.

46. *Ibid.*

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REFERENCE

80. See chapter XII for the Candalas.

81. Sriv., p. 101.

82. Jonar., pp. 82,88.

83. Munich MS., f. 69b; T.A. iii, 436; also Sriv., p. 102.

84. *Ibid.*, p. 142; B.S., f. 51b.

85. Sriv., p. 141; N.A., f. 46a,

86. *Ibidl.* f. 45b.

87. Jonar., p. 86. See also Munich MS., f. 71a and T.A., iii, 437. Kakapur is the ancient Utpalapura. (Stein, ii, p. 474).

88. Jonar., p. 87. Nandmarg is a pass in the Pir Panjal Range situated south-east extremity of the Shahbad Valley. It is Nandashaila of Jonaraja. Chakdar is Chakradhara of Jonaraja.

89. It is a village about 10 miles north of Shupiyan, on the west side of the road to Srinagar, in Lat. 33° 52′ Long. 74° 53′.

90. Jonar., p. 87. Zainapur was a pargana in the Shupiyan dist. Of Maraj (Maraz) division. Now it is in Anantnag dist.

91. Jonar., p. 87.

92. Kak, *Ancient Monuments of Kashmir*, p. 37. I have not been able to trace Midpur either in the settlement records or on the maps. The inhabitants of Avantipur are also ignorant of the existence of such a village. Rajpur is a village about 12 miles south-east of Srinagar. It is well-

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64. Jonar., p. 86. Sriv., p. 194, mentions of only one princess who was the sister of Manik Dev, the Raja of Jammu, and the mother of Adham Khan.

65. Jonar., p. 86.

66. J.P.H.S., ix, part ii, p. 145. This account is based on Cunningham who does not give any authority. *Tazkira Rajgan-i-Rajaur* does not mention of any such marriage.

67. Hasan, f. 122a; H.M., f. 121b.

68. Sriv., p. 101.

69. Jonar., p. 96.

70. Jonar, p. 88.

71. Munich MS., f. 70a; T.A., iii, 436.

72. Munich MS., f. 69b.

73. *Ibid.*, ff. 69b-70a; T.A., iii, 436.

74. Jonar., pp. 88-9; Munich MS., f. 72b. It is not recorded as to where these mines were situated. But copper may have been extracted from the mountain on which 'Aishmakan in the Lidar Valley stands. (Lawrence. *Valley*, p. 62).

75. Munich MS., f. 70b; T.A.,iii, 437.

76. Jonar., p. 80.

77. Munich MS., f. 74a; T.A., iii, 441.

78. Jonar., pp. 85-6.

79. *Ibid.*, p. 95; Munich MS., f. 72a.

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REFERENCE

107. *Tuhfatu'l-Ahbab*, pp. 226-27; F.K., f. 200b.

108. Jonar., (Bo. ed.), Nos. 1077-78. The Calcutta text and its English trans. by Dutt is vague and confused on this point. S.A., p. 30, says a very small sum was imposed as *jizya* on the non-Muslims.

109. Munich MS., f. 70a; Firishta, p. 657, and other Persian chronicles say that *jizya* was abolished probably on the ground that it was not realised.

110. Sriv., p. 143.

111. *Ibid.*, p. 142.

112. *Ibid.*, pp. 123-5.

113. *Ibid.*, pp. 132-4.

114. Jonar., p. 77.

115. *Ibid.*, p. 82; Munich MS., f. 69b.

116. Jonarl, p. 83.

117. *Ibid.*, p. 97; Munich MS., f. 74a.

118. Sriv., pp,. 164, 181.

119. B.S., ff. 46b-47a.

120. *Ibid.*, 48b-56a.

121. Hasan, ff. 119a-b; H.M., ff. 118b-19b.

122. Hasan, f. 120a.

123. B.S., f. 56a.

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known for its apple orchards and is a packing centre for apples.

93. Jonar., p. 87. Safapur is a small village situated on the bank of the Mansabal where Akbar had constructed a garden.

94. B.S., ff. 51a-b., S.A., p. 38; T.H., 1, f. 99b. Zainagir is a pargana in Kamraj (Kamraz) division.

95. Jonar., (Bo. ed.). Nos. 1232 sqq; also N.A., ff. 45a-46a, and G.A., f. 127a.

96. Jonar., p. 87.

97. Lawrence, *Valley*, p. 191; T.H., i, 99b.

98. Sriv., p. 143; S.A., p. 37.

99. H.M., ff. 120b-21a

100. Moorcroft, *Travels*, ii, p. 135. When Moorcroft visited Kashmir the annual produce was only twenty lakhs of *kharwars*.

101. Sriv., p. 140.

102. Munich MS., f. 75b; T.A., iii, 443.

103. Sriv., p. 156.

104. *Ibid.*, p. 437.

105. Sriv., p. 143; Munich MS., f. 70a; B.S., ff. 48b-49a.

106. Sriv., p. 142; Jonar., p. 87; Munich MS., f. 70a; B.S., f. 48b.

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REFERENCE

139. *Ibid.*

140. B.S., f. 47b; Hasan, f. 120b; H.M., f. 120a.

141. B.S., f. 48a.

142. Sriv., p. 145.

143. Hasan, f. 120b; H.M., f. 120a.

144. Munich MS., f. 73a; T.A., iii, p. 439.

145. 'Sriv., pp. 145, 166.

146. Jonar., p. 91.

147. 'Sriv., p. 135.

148. *Ibid.*, p. 167.

149. H.M., ff. 117b-118a.

150. Hasan., ff. 121a-b; H.M., f. 120b.

151. B.S., ff. 47a-b; Hasan, f. 120b; H.M., f. 120a.

152. *Ibid;* Hasan, ff. 120b-121a. Lawrence, *Valley*, p. 380, says the paper-workers were settled by the Sultan in Naushahr (Srinagar) and in his time there were 30 such families.

153. B.S., f. 47a; Hasan, f. 120a; H.M., f. 120b.

154. 'Sriv., p. 151.

155. *Ibid.*, p. 135.

156. *Ibid.*, p. 105.

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124. *Ibid.*, f. 46b.

125. R.S. Pundit, Trans. Of *Kalhana's Rajat.*, pp. 25n. 176.

126. Munich MS., ff. 72b-73a.

127. Sriv., p. 136.

128. *Ibid.*, (Bo. ed.), BK. 1, chap. iv, No. 37; Munich MS., f. 72b.

129. Sriv., (Bo. ed.), BK. I, chap, iv, No. 39. In the Cal. ed. of the text as translated by Dutt, it is stated tha he had "perused the *Shah-nama.*" But the Bo. ed. Says: "He had mastered the ocean-like texts that existed in the country of *Shah-nama.*"

130. Rieu, ii, pp. 467b-68a, 470i also Ethe, i, Nos. 2296-7.

131. 'Sriv., p. 146; Munich MS., f. 73a.

132. Published in Bombay in 1901. See Sufi, *Kashir*, i, 167.

133. Munich MS., f. 73a.

134. *Ibid.*

135. M.T., ii, 380; see for more details, Sufi, *Kashir*, i, pp. 163-64. But Sufi confuses Kalhana's *Rajatarangini* with *Bahru'l-Asmar* which is a quite different work. (See Storey, *Persian Literature*, Section ii, p. 438.).

136. Hasan, f. 119b; H.M., f. 119b.

137. W.K., f. 41a.

138. *Sufi, Kashir*, ii, 348. Sir is a large vilage about 7 miles north-east Anantnag in Lat. 33° 47′ Long. 75° 17′.

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REFERENCE

171. S.A., p. 30.

172. Hasan, f. 117b.

173. Sriv., pp. 155-6.

174. Hasan, ff. 117b-118a; H.M., f. 117a.

175. Munich MS., f. 71a.

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157. See for more details Chapter XI under section of Weapons.

158. B.S., ff. 49a-b; H.M., f. 113a.

159. 'Sriv., p. 135; Munich MS., f. 72a. Srivara calls him Sujjya. It may be a corruption of Shuja. But Persian chronicles call him Mulla 'Udi, perhaps because he could play well on the 'Ud.

160. Munich MS., f. 73a.

161. *Ibid.*, f. 72a; 'Sriv., pp. 135-6; T.A., iii, 439.

162. B.S., f. 46b.

163. T.R., p. 429; Sriv., pp, 137-8.

164. For Zainapur and Zainagir see p. 85 *supra.* Zainakiot is a village 4 miles west of Srinagar. Hasan Shah in T.H., ii, f. 98a, gives the names of other villages like Zainadab in Naushahr (Srinagar), Zaina Danaib on the Volur (Wolar) lake and Zaina Kadal in Srinagar.

165. B.S., ff. 51b-52a. The statement in S.A., p. 38, that the royal buildings in Zainagir were destroyed by the Chaks is not corroborated by other chronicles. They were probably destroyed in the course of civil wars and foreign invasions of the later Shah Mir period. Mirza Haider does not mention the existence of any building in Zainagir during his time.

166. N.A., f. 45a.

167. *Ibid.*

168. *Ibid.* f. 46a.

169. Lawrence, *Valley*,p. 191.

170. Jonar., p. 94; T.R., p. 429. See J.A.S.B. (1880), pp. 16 sq. for the inscription upon a stone near a mosque on the island.

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CHAPTER VI

DYNASTIC TROUBLES AND REBELLIONS

Haidar Shah (1470-72)

Under Zainu'l-'Abidin the Shah Mir dynasty reached the meridian of its power and glory. But after his death, under his weak successors, it started on its downward course until it met its final overthrow at the hands of the Chaks. Haji Khan ascended the throne under the title of Sultan Haidar Shah. To celebrate the occasion festivities were held in Sikandarpur, and gifts were bestowed on nobles and tributary chiefs.(1) Bahram, his younger brother, was conferred upon the jagir of Nagam, while his son Hasan Khan was given the jagir of Kamraj (Kamraz) and declared heir-apparent.(2)

Meanwhile, Adham Khan, who was in Jammu, proceeded to Punch and decided to invade Kashmir. The Sultan was advised by Purna, the barber,[3] who was his favourite, and by other counsellors, that it was at the invitation of Hasan Kachhi, the treasurer, that Adham was planning the invasion of the Valley. Haidar Shah, thereupon, sent for Hasan and his seven accomplices and had them put to death. The ministers of Sultan Zainu'l-'Abidin, who had opposed Haidar Shah's claim to the throne, were also executed.[4].

When Adham heard the news of Hasan's execution, he was struck with fright, and returned to Jammu. Bahram too became alarmed and decided to flee, but gave up the idea on being assured of safety by the Sultan who wanted to keep him near himself as he

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way for six months, Prince Hasan decided to return to Kashmir, as alarming news had reached him from Srinagar[11].

During the absence of Hasan, Bahram Khan had succeeded in strengthening his position by winning the confidence of the Sultan, and bringing him under his influence. Taking advantage of Haidar Shah's deteriorating physical and mental powers caused by excessive drinking, he even began to plot with the nobles to usurp the throne. It was on hearing this news that Hasan had returned by forced marches to Srinagar. But as he had come without the Sultan's permission, Bahram and other interested persons succeeded in alienating the Sultan from him by insinuating that he had arrived in order to seize power.[12]. The result was that he was at first refused audience by the Sultan, and it was only at the request of the army chiefs that he was finally received. But his services in suppressing the refractory chiefs were ignored, and he was given only an ordinary khil'at[13]. Soon after, Haidar Shah, while carousing on the top floor of the palace in a glass room, fell down and bled through his nose. As he had already been for some time past spitting blood and suffering from gout, he fainted and had to be carried to his bed. When his condition grew worse, and it became certain that he would not recover, his ministers headed by Ahmad Aitu, the Wazir, proceeded to Bahram Khan and requested him to proclaim himself as Sultan and appoint Hasan as his heir-apparent[14]. But he refused to accept the second condition. Thereupon Ahmad, with the consent of the nobles, declared Hasan as ruler, and

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was useful in checkmating the designs of Adham[5]. Soon after, news reached Haidar Shah that Adham Khan had lost his life while fighting along with his maternal uncle Manik Dev, the ruler of Jammu, against the Turks[6]. The Sultan was grieved to hear this, and he caused his body to be brought from Jammu and had it buried near the grave of Sultan Zainu'l-'Abidin.[7].

Haidar Shah, like his father, pursued a liberal policy towards the Hindus. But some of the Brahmans, provoked by the barber, caused damage to the Khanqah-i-Mu'alla[8]. and began to harass the Muslims of Srinagar.[9]. When the Sultan heard of this he inflicted severe punishments on the persons guilty of the outrage. Their arms and legs were cut off, and their properties were confiscated, including the lands which had been given to them by Zainu'l-'Abidin.[10].

Owing to the Sultan's neglect of the administration, the states of the Outer Hills, which had been tributary to Kashmir since the time of Shihabu'd-Din, now declared their independence. Prince Hasan was therefore dispatched with an army to reduce them to obedience. Jai Singh, the ruler of Rajauri, submitted without offering any resistance, and gave Hasan handsome presents and his daughter in marriage. The ruler of Jammu and the chief of the Gakkhars also submitted, and they were spared. But those chiefs who refused to recognise the sovereignty of the Sultan, were attacked, and after being defeated, were executed and their capitals were destroyed. After campaigning in this

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the influence of the barber Purna who was rapacious, unscrupulous, and a great intriguer. He spent most of his time in his wine cups and in the society of women and musicians, and as a result left the management of the state to corrupt and worthless favourites who misgoverned the country.

Sultan Hasan Shah (1472-84)

Hasan Shah signalised his accession to the throne by leaving Sikandarpur, the capital of his father, and proceeding to live at Naushahr.[21] Since he had become ruler through the efforts of Ahmad Aitu, he conferred upon him the title of Malik, gave him the jagir of Nagam, and made him his Wazir.[22] His son Nauruz was appointed Amiri-iDar or Lord Chamberlain, given the title of Bahadur Mulk,[23].and granted the jagir of Ikshika.[24]. Jahangir Magre was entrusted with the chief command of the army and given the title of Shaukat Jung, while Khwaja Nuru'd-Din was given the post of Shaikhu'l-Islam, and Khwaja Muhammad 'Alam that of Sadr.[25].

Soon after Hasan Shah became Sultan, Bahram, who had fled to India, invaded Kashmir at the invitation of some of the nobles and arrived in the province of Kamraj (Kamraz). Learning of the invasion, Hasan Shah, who was at this time at Avantipur, at once proceeded to Sopur [Sopore] .[26] He, however, did not know what course to follow, as treachery was rife in his camp, and conflicting advices were being offered to him by his ministers. Some were even suggesting that

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made preparations to attack Bahram. The latter alarmed at this fled the city. Bahram had in reality behaved in a cowardly manner and shown a great lack of energy and enterprise, for, if he had taken prompt action by seizing the treasury, the horses, and the palace, he would have secured the throne.[15].

Haidar Shah died on April 13, 1472, after a reign of one year and ten months, and was buried near his father's grave. (16) He was generous and cultured, and a patron of art and learning. He was himself a poet and wrote a book of songs in Persian. (17) He was fond of the society of Mulla Da'ud, a great musician, whose pupil Khwaja 'Abdu'l-Qadir taught the Sultan to play on the lute. He acquired such proficiency in it that, according to Srivara, "he gave lessons even to the professors". He also learned to play well on other instruments from persons who were attached to his court.(18).

Like his father and uncle, Haidar Shah also built a bridge across the Jehlam in Srinagar and named it Nau Kadal.(19) He was a man of tolerant disposition, and enjoyed the society of learned Brahmans who read out to him passages from the Puranas, the Dharmasastras and the Samhitas. Although very generous to the poor and liberal in bestowing gifts and jagirs on the courtiers, he was not of a forgiving nature and punished severely anyone guilty of even the most trifling offence.(20). At the same time he possessed a weak nature, and allowed himself to be dominated by persons of a stronger will. In particular he was under

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Later he had served Haidar Shah, and now Hasan Shah reposed great confidence in him and placed him in charge of Divasar pargana.[33] But Abhimanyu being ambitious, became jealous of Malik Ahmad, and began to plot his overthrow. But the minister succeeded in counteracting his machinations, and by the Sultan's order had him blinded and thrown into prison, where he died in great misery after two years.[34]

The Malik Zada, too, like Abhimanyu, had an unhappy end. He was dishonest and enriched himself by robbing the people. He was very friendly with Purna, the barber, and with his help organised a plot to overthrow the Sultan. But the conspiracy was discovered, and both he and the barber were thrown into prison where they died. Their ill-gotten wealth was confiscated by the Sultan.[35]

Having removed his rivals, Malik Ahmad turned his attention to making his position stronger by entering into marriage alliances with the important families in the kingdom. He adopted Tazi Bat, [36] a man of humble origin, as his son and married him to the eldest sister of Jahangir Magre, the commander-in-chief, and then had him appointed minister and guardian of Prince Muhammad [37]. But the result of this was that Malik Ahmad's sons, particularly Nauruz, became jealous of Tazi Bat. They accused him of arrogance, favouritism, and rapacity, and pointed out to their father that the advancement of Tazi would lead to the ruin of their family.[38] Their instigations had the desired effect, and Malik Ahmad became hostile to Tazi. He sent him to

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resistance was futile, and that the Sultan should retire to the Punjab. But Malik Ahmad, the Wazir, opposed all defeatist tactics and advised resistance to the enemy. The Sultan finally agreed with him and sent Tazi Bat against the pretender.[27] Thereupon Bahram hastened to Dulipur[28] to attack Tazi Bat, expecting to be joined by the nobles who had invited him and promised him support. But on reaching Dulipur, he was disappointed to find that none came over to his side. He therefore had to fight without any allies. As a result, his forces were defeated and scattered and he himself escaped to Zainagir. From there again he fled, but was pursued and, having been struck by an arrow, was captured along with his son.[29] They were both brought before the Sultan who ordered them to be confined in Bahram's own palace. But soon after, apprehending that Bahram might form a rallying point for the discontented nobles, Hasan Shah had him shackled and blinded [30]. Three years after this Bahram died.[31]. He was mean, ungrateful, an opportunist, and an intriguer. Zainu'l-'Abidin had bestowed favours on him, yet he had opposed him and neglected him during his last illness; and to achieve his own ends he had tried to play his two brothers against each other. He had then conspired the overthrow of Sultan Haidar Shah, and finally attempted to seize the throne from his nephew, Hasan Shah.

Meanwhile two persons, named Abhimanyu and Malik Zada, had risen high in the Sultan's favour. Abhimanyu had belonged to Haji's party, and had helped him in his rebellion against Zainu'l-'Abidin[32].

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Tazi Bat as a rival, he decided to destroy him. For this purpose he recalled the Baihaqi Sayyids from India in spite of the opposition of some of the nobles who looked upon all foreigners with suspicion, and entered in league with them. Finally he secured the Sultan's order by which Tazi Bat's property was confiscated and he was interned in his house and given a small allowance.(43)

After bringing about the fall of Tazi Bat. Malik Ahmad directed his attention to other ministers whom he suspected of being his possible rivals. He had them dismissed, and in their place appointed his own favorites. As a result Ahmad's power enormously increased, and every one began to fear him. Even Jahangir Magre, the commander in-chief, was filled with apprehension. (44)

Hasan Shah, who was watching these developments closely, did not approve of Ahmad's conduct and turned against him. Observing the change in the attitude of the Sultan, the minister's enemies felt encouraged, and suggested to him to take away the guardianship of Prince Yusuf from Ahmad. (45) The Sultan acted on their advice; but fearing rebellion, he won over the Sayyids and sought the support of Jahangir Magre to crush Ahmad. The latter, hearing of these developments, marched with his followers to the palace and entered it. Meanwhile, Jahangir, having arrived from his estate, released Tazi Bat, and set out with him and the Sayyids to attack Ahmad. Tazi Bat's supporters set fire to the western gate of the palace,

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the Outer Hills against some of the tributary chiefs who had declared their independence and had not paid any tribute to the Sultan. He hoped thereby to keep him away from Srinagar, and in his absence to secure his overthrow.[39].

Tazi Bat, unaware of the designs of Malik Ahmad, marched with an army. He succeeded in reducing Jammu, Rajauri, and other neighbouring states; and then, supported by the Jammu army, he marched on Sialkot, which belonged to Sultan Bauhlul Lodi. The town being practically defenceless, Tazi plundered it.[40] When Tatar Khan, Buhlul Lodi's governor of the Punjab, heard of this he set out with an army to invade Kashmir. He occupied some of the villages at the foot of the mountains, but owing to the high barriers which barred his passage, he did not advance any further. Moreover, as the prestige of the rulers of Kashmir was still great, he thought that serious resistance would be offered to him, and his invasion would end in failure. In reality however the country was no longer as strong as it had been in former days, and could have been easily overrun by an enterprising general.[41]

Meanwhile, Malik Ahmad had succeeded in poisoning Hasan Shah's mind against Tazi Bat. He had the Guardianship of Prince Muhammad transferred from him to his own son, Nauruz;[42] and althoughTazi Bat returned from the campaign successful with the spoils of war, he persuaded the Sultan not to confer any honours on him. Not satisfied with this, and still fearing

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Bhagan (1470-1500). The Ladakhis (Bhauttas) fell upon his rear and destoyed his army. Jahangir himself, however, succeeded in making good his escape and returning to Srinagar. The reverse was due to the disunity of the Kashmiri commanders, for if they had carried on the campaign jointly, Jahangir's army would not have met with such a disaster.[48] This defeat was taken advantage of by the Sayyids to incite the Sultan against Jahangir whom they regarded as a serious rival. Jahangir, disgusted with the court intrigues and alarmed for his life, went away to Loharkot.[49]

Like his father, Hasan Shah also indulged in excessive drinking. This in the end undermined his health, and he had a serious attack of diarrhoea.[50] Realising that he would not recover, he sent for Sayyid Hasan, his Wazir and father-in-law, and asked him to recall Adham's son Fath Khan, who was living in exile in the Punjab, and appoint him his successor, as his own sons, Muhammad, Husain, and Yusuf, were only minors. But in case the Queen did not approve of this, she was free to make any other arrangement. The Queen was at first agreeable to the Sultan's suggestion, but, under the influence of her father, she changed her mind, and, when the Sultan died on April 19,1484, she at once declared her son Muhammad, who was seven years of age, as Sultan.[51]

As a prince Hasan Shah had shown some energy and enterprise but ever since he became ruler, he took little interest in public affairs, and not even once led an army. Instead, he applied himself more or less

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causing the destruction of a large number of houses in the neighbourhood. Ahmad, finding himself surrounded on all sides, and realising that he was not strong enough to resist Jahangir for his troops began to desert him, threw himself at the mercy of Hasan Shah. The latter, remembering his past services, gave him protection against his enemies who would otherwise have put him to death. However, urged by Jahangir and other courtiers, Malik Ahmad and his sons and prominent followers were thrown into prison, and their properties were confiscated.(46) In his place Sayyid Hasan Baihaqi, Hasan Shah's father-in-law, was appointed Wazir, and the jagir of Nagam was transferred to him. Malik Ahmad had been Wazir for ten years. He had been loyal to Hasan Shah, who in turn had placed great confidence in him and acted on his advice. He was generous and tolerant, and granted villages to the Brahmans, while for the Muslims he built and endowed hospices.(47) In the beginning he ruled the country well, but later on, filled with the lust for power, he became tyrannical, neglecting the administration and pursuing a policy of intrigue and nepotism.

Baltistan and Ladakh had again become independent, and so, in 1483, Hasan Shah despatched Jahangir Magre and Sayyid Hasan to reconquer them. Jahangir suggested to Sayyid Hasan to march together and act jointly. But the latter did not agree to this, and undertook the campaign separately. He invaded Baltistan, and having reduced its chief to obedience, returned to Srinagar in triumph. But Jahangir, who had proceeded to Ladakh, was defeated by its ruler Lhachen

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and Sopur [Sopore], and repaired those which had been erected by his predecessors at various places. In Srinagar he built a *khanqah* and dedicated it to his father;[54] and when his mother Gul Khatun died, he constructed a new bridge of boats in her memory at the end of Shihabu'd-Dinpur. But the most important edifices which he rebuilt were the Khanqah-i-Mu'alla and Jami'Masjid, which had been erected by Sikandar, but a great fire had destroyed them in 1479.[55].

The example of the Sultan was followed by his nobles. The Wazir, Malik Ahmad, constructed a number of buildings at Didamar, including a *khanqah* which was endowed with the village of Satipusha, [56] and where foreigners were given free accommodation and food. His wife Shah Begum also built a *khanqah* on the road leading to Kheri.[57] His sons, the nobles, and princes vied with each other in the erection of *khanqahs*. Hindus and Buddhists too constructed many religious buildings. Sayyabhandapati built a *vihara* at Bijbehara, [58] while his brothers erected a beautiful stone temple of Ganesa. Many other similar edifices were erected by the Hindus.[59].

Sultan Muhammad Shah (i) 1484-6

Muhammad Khan ascended the throne under the title of Muhammad Shah. But as he was too young to exercise any authority, the affairs of the government were conducted by his maternal grandfather, Sayyid Hasan.[60] Within a short period, however, Sayyid Hasan and other members of his family, owing to their

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exclusively to pleasure. Malik Ahmad, the Wazir, at first governed the country well, but later, he too neglected his duties, and appointed to responsible positions in the government his own men who were corrupt and inefficient. Ahmad's conduct aroused the anger and jealousy of the nobles, and led to an armed conflict. This weakened the administration, and adversely affected law and order. Taking advantage of this the outlying provinces of the kingdom became independent, and only the Valley was left in the possession of Hasan Shah. An attempt to reduce Ladakh ended in disaster; and although Baltistan, Jammu, and Rajauri were reduced, they soon relapsed into independence owing to the weakness of the central government.

Although politically Hasan Shah's reign was a failure, culturally it was of great significance. Hasan Shah was, next to Zainu'l-'Abidin, the most cultured ruler of the Shah Mir dynasty. He patronised men of learning, and under him some Persian works were translated into Sanskrit. He was interested in the spread of education, and founded schools which were liberally endowed. He was not only a great patron of music, but was himself well versed in it. He possessed a sweet voice, and sang Persian, Kashmiri, and Sanskrit songs. His court was adorned with skilful musicians of whom some had come from distant places, attracted by the Sultan's love of music. In all, there were 1,200 musicians in his court.[52]

Hasan Shah's reign was characterised by great building activity. He built palaces at Didamar[53]

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Hearing of these events, Jahangir Magre returned to Srinagar from Loharkot at the request of the Kashmiri nobles. The Sayyids offered to come to terms with him. But he refused, and sent his son Da'ud, accompanied by Saifdar, across the bridge to attack the Sayyids in Naushahr. But Da'ud was defeated and killed. To celebrate their victory, the Sayyids erected a minaret of the heads of the slain.(70) Encouraged by this success, the Sayyids themselves decided to take the offensive. Informed of this the Kashmiris also advanced and encountered the enemy on the bridge. But suddenly it gave way, and as a result many soldiers from both the armies were drowned in the river.(71)

Realising that the Kashmiri nobles were getting bolder and stronger every day, the Sayyids sought the help of Tatar Khan, the Lodi governor of the Punjab. The latter sent to their aid some troops. But when these reached Bhimbhar, its Raja checked their advance, and compelled them to retreat.(72) This news raised the spirits of the Kashmiris whose attacks on the Sayyids became more frequent. But they were indecisive, being only in the nature of skirmishes. The victory sometimes lay with the Kashmiris and sometimes with the Sayyids. After two months, however, the Kashmiri nobles with a large army crossed the Jehlam and attacked the Sayyids. The latter, being outnumbered, were defeated. They fled, but were pursued, and many of them were killed and the city of Naushahr was set fire to.(73) The Kashmiri nobles entered the fort of Naushahr, and saluted Muhammad Shah as Sultan. The Sayyids were once again banished from the country. Their jagirs

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foreign origin and the superior and arrogant attitude which they adopted towards the Kashmiri nobles,[61] combined with their opposition to the caste system [62] and their discouragement of the use of Sanskrit and Kashmiri,[63] became very unpopular in the country,[64]. The Kashmir nobles, therefore, organised a plot against them with the help of Parasuram, the ruler of Jammu, who, apprehending an attack from Tatar Khan, had fled to Srinagar. One night about three hundred men, including some Jammu soldiers, secretly entered the fort of Naushahr by bribing the guards.[65] Early next morning, while Sayyid Hasan was holding court in the fort, they came out of their hiding places and attacked him and his followers, killing him and thirteen others. A servant, though seriously wounded, escaped through a drain in the fort, and informed Sayyid Hasan's son, Sayyid Muhammad, of the tragedy.[66] Hearing of this Sayyid Muhammad with his brother Sayyid Hashim at once attacked the fort and occupied it. He also seized all the treasure which was there, and distributed it among his troops.[67]

Meanwhile, 'Idi Raina tried to secure the release of Yusuf Khan, the son of Bahram Khan, and to set him up on the throne. But Sayyid 'Ali Baihaqi, one of the Sayyid nobles, came to know of the plot, and he immediately put Yusuf Khan to death.[68] Sitan Devi, Yusuf's mother, kept the body of her son with her for three days, and then had it buried. Near his grave she built a cell where she passed the rest of her days.[69]

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Although defeated and driven out of Kashmir, Fath Khan organised his forces at Bahramgala,[82] and again invaded Kashmir the following year. Jahangir Magre encountered him on the *karewa* in the Nagam pargana. Meanwhile Zirak Bat, a follower of Fath Khan, entered Srinagar with a small following and secured the release of Malik Saifdar and others who had been imprisoned because they had supported Fath Khan.[83] Jahangir became alarmed at these developments and made peace with Fath Khan through the mediation of the Raja of Rajauri.[84] Meanwhile he began his intrigues, and having succeeded in alienating the Raja from Fath Khan and in separating the latter from his other supporters, he attacked him. Fath Khan, finding himself completely isolated, fled, pursued by Jahangir as far as Hirapur.[85].

From Hirapur, Fath Khan proceeded to Jammu which he occupied, and then again made an attempt to seize the throne of Kashmir. Jahangir Magre advanced to offer him battle with the support of Sayyid Muhammad and other Sayyid chiefs whom he had recalled from their exile in India.[86] Fath Khan being defeated at Gus Udar, retired to Rajauri along with his adviser and commander Saifdar. However, he did not lose heart. A few months after he again organised an army and entered the Valley. He met the royal forces at Damadar Udar.[87] and this time he was victorious. Jahangir escaped with a wound, Sayyid Muhammad deserted and joined Fath Khan. Muhammad Shah tried to escape but was seized by Fath Khan's supporters

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were confiscated and distributed among the nobles who had brought about their overthrow.[74] Parasuram, who had played an important part in the conflict against the Sayyids, was given presents and allowed to depart[75]. Jahangir Magre was appointed prime minister.

The façade of unity in the country lasted as long as the Sayyids were in power. But as soon as the latter were overthrown, the nobles restarted quarrelling. Some of them invited Fath Khan, the son of Adham Khan, who was living in Jalandhar, and promised him support.[76] On receiving the invitation, Fath Khan proceeded to Rajauri, and although he was dissuaded from the step by Jahangir Magre, he, in the middle of 1485, having won over Mas'ud Nayak, the Guardian of the passes, entered Kashmir *via* Hirapur, where he was joined by his supporters.[77] Jahangir at once set out with Muhammad Shah and encamped at gus Udar.[78] But on hearing that Fath Khan had reached Kalampur, he marched to attack him, leaving behind Muhammad Shah at Gus Udar. Heavy fighting took place at Kalampur.[79] The royal forces were on the point of being defeated, when Jahangir rallied them by spreading a false rumour that Fath Khan had been captured. This demoralised the latter's followers and they fled. Fath Khan, despairing of success, also left the battle-field and finally managed to escape to the Punjab.[80] Some of his leading supporters were, however, seized and thrown into prison and their houses were plundered.[81]

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Nusrat Raina with gifts, while Shams Chak was appointed prime minister.(92)

Shams Chak was the son of Hilmat Chak who with his tribe had come from the direction of Gilgit and had settled in Kopwara (Kumpwara). He had served in turn Sayyid Muhammad, Malik Nauruz, and Saifdar. He was brave and had earned fame in the civil wars. He married the daughter of Pandu Chak's son Husain Chak who was living in Gawaril.(93) This united the two families which had hitherto been hostile to each other, and greatly strengthened the position of Shams Chak, for all the followers of Husain joined him.(94)

After two and a half years of peace, dissensions among the nobles revived. The relations between Sayyid Muhammad and Shams Chak became estranged. Ibrahim Magre, the son of Jahangir Magre, and 'Idi Raina also turned against Shams Chak, and, with the help of Sayyid Muhammad, made preparations to overthrow him.(95) They then attacked him in the vicinity of Bulbul Shah's tomb and defeated him. Shams Chak, however, succeeded in crossing the bridge of 'Ali Kadal over to Zialdakar (Zialdagar) where he was joined by Kaji Chak who had also fought his way through the ranks of the enemy. Shams Chak, at first, thought of again making a stand, but as his forces were smaller and many of his supporters had deserted him,, he retired to (Kamraz). Since Fath Shah had allied himself with Shams Chak he had to give up his throne and retire to Naushahra.(96) Muhammad Shah, who had

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(October 14, 1486).[88] He was confined in his own palace, but was provided with all comforts. Fath Khan was proclaimed ruler, and ascended the throne under the title of Sultan Fath Shah. The Khasas who had come with him sacked the city; and although order was restored after three days, yet, for about six months, the kingdom was at their mercy.[89]

Sultan Fath Shah (i) 1486-93

Fath Shah was religious and possessed simple habits. He abstained from wine, and did not play dice, and led a strictly moral life.[90] He was intelligent, brave, and enterprising, and tried his best to curb the power of the nobles, but he was not successful. The result was that while he reigned the nobles ruled in his name, and the decline of the dynasty continued.

Since Fath Shah had secured the throne through the efforts of Saifdar, he made him his prime minister. Soon however he became dissatisfied with him for keeping all power in his own hands and treating him only as a figure-head. He therefore secured the support of Nusrat Raina, Sarhang Raina, Musa Raina, and Shams Chak and decided to overthrow Saifdar. In order to carry on his preparations undisturbed he destroyed all the bridges of the town, and then, after a few days, attacked Saifdar at the village of Ramlana.[91] A fierce hand to hand fight ensued. Saifdar was killed by Sarhang Raina, but the latter himself was mortally wounded by him. However, Saifdar's death completely demoralised his troops, and they fled. Fath Shah was glad at this victory and rewarded Musa Raina and

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this did not please Musa, as he felt he had been assigned a smaller jagir than what he deserved.[102] Moreover at this time arrived Shamsu'd-Din[103] for the second time in Kashmir and Musa became his devoted follower. But Sayyid Muhammad did not approve of Shamsu'd-Din's ideas, and compelled him to retire to Skardu. Musa was therefore very angry with Sayyid Muhammad, and having won over Ibrahim Magre and Haji Padar, invited Fath Shah, who was in Naushahra, to Kashmir. Fath Shah, accordingly, entered the Valley, and on reaching Hirapur was joined by Musa, Ibrahim, and Haji.[104] Hearing of this Muhammad Shah accompanied by Sayyid Muhammad marched against them, and defeated them at Zainakot. The next day, however, Fath Shah after reorganising his army again offered battle. He was on the point of losing when suddenly Sayyid Muhammad was killed. This demoralised the royal forces, and they fled. Muhammad Shah nearly escaped capture, and succeeded in making his way to Naushahra. Fath Shah was thereupon proclaimed Sultan.[105]

Sultan Fath Shah (ii) 1505-14

On ascending the throne Fath Shah raised Shams Chak, who had been with him in exile, to the office of prime minister. But partly out of jealousy and partly because of the arrogant attitude of Shams Chak, Ibrahim Magre and Musa Raina resented his appointment. And shortly afterwards, they joined hands with Fath Shah who also had begun to chafe under the yoke of his minister. A plot was therefore

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been confined in his own palace, was released and declared Sultan for the second time.(97)

Sultan Muhammad Shah (ii) 1493-1505

Immediately on ascending the throne, Muhammad Shah, accompanied by his prime minister, Sayyid Muhammad, Ibrahim Magre, and Musa Raina, set out against Shams Chak. When he reached the village of Trahgam, Shams Chak moved to Drava.(98) Muhammad Shah, having destroyed the houses of Shams Chak's partisans in and around Trahgam, proceeded to Sopur [Sopore] When Shams Chak heard of this he returned to Trahgam; and since he had a smaller army than that of his opponents, he decided to make a night attack and marched to Sopur [Sopore], reaching there early in the morning.(99) Muhammad Shah was taken by surprise and fled across the bridge, leaving behind some of his baggage which fell into the hands of the enemy. He then destroyed the bridge, and encamped on the other side of the river. But Musa Raina, being stationed at some distance from the main army, learnt of the night attack after the bridge had been destroyed, and so he could not cross the river. However, though he had a small force he refused to surrender, and when he was attacked by Shams Chak, he made a brave stand and, with the help of Kaji Chak, 'Idi Raina, and Sayyid Muhammad, defeated him. Shams Chak fled to Trahgam, and thence to Naushahra, where he joined Fath Shah.(100) Muhammad Shah returned to his capital in triumph, and conferred upon Musa Raina a jagir in reward for his services.(101) But

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was killed by a soldier.[112]

Fath Shah now appointed Ibrahim Magre his prime minister. But Ibrahim remained in power only for forty days, because the Dangre chiefs, whom he had recalled from India to his aid, became alienated, and, with the help of some nobles, succeeded in overthrowing him. Ibrahim fled to India. He was a past master in the art of intrigue, but was incompetent as an administrator; and during his short tenure of office there was utter lawlessness in the country.[113]

After the flight of Ibrahim, Malik 'Usman became Wazir. But two months after, Kaji Chak, Jahangir Padar, and Gada'i Malik formed a plot against him with the support of Fath Shah. They surprised Dati Malik, who was in the palace administering justice, and killed him. They seized Malik 'Usman, who was in another room with Fath Shah, and threw him into prison. Thereupon, Jahangir Padar was set up as Wazir. But only a month had elapsed when Ibrahim Magre returned from the Punjab with an army, and defeated Jahangir Padar and Kaji Chak. The latter, accompanied by Fath Shah who had supported him, left for the Punjab. But Ibrahim recalled Fath Shah, who had reached as far as Hirapur, and acknowledged him as Sultan. Coins were struck and the *khutba* was recited in the name of Fath Shah.[114]

Ibrahim Magre had enjoyed office only for a year, when Malik 'Usman, who had been released by him from prison, Shankar Raina, and Nusrat Raina formed a league in concert with Fath Shah and seized

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organised against Shams Chak and he was seized and thrown into prison. Since Shams Chak had been responsible for the assassination of Saifdar and the overthrow of the Dangres, Musa Raina employed Bahram Dar and Dati Malik for putting him to death.[106] Although Shams Chak was in chains, and had no weapons to defend himself with, except a small knife, yet he fought with his assassins like a tiger, killing three of them and wounding others. In the end, however, he was overpowered by a shower of arrows and killed along with his son. He had remained Wazir only for four months.[107]

The first act of Musa Raina, who now replaced Shams Chak, was to exile the Dangre tribe which had turned against him.[108] He then recalled Shamsu'd-Din from Skardu, and helped him in his missionary activities. Musa Raina was able and efficient and ruled Kashmir with a strong hand. [109] But Ibrahim Magre, who had so far been friendly with him, now did not approve of Musa's religious policy.[110] He then with his supporters proceeded to the palace at Sikandarpur (Srinagar), and having destroyed the bridge of the city, prepared to attack Musa. The latter, on the other hand, encamped in the field of Zialdakar (Zialdagar); but finding that his forces were smaller than those of his rivals, he decided to retire to India.[111] Meanwhile, Malik 'Usman and Dati Malik, chiefs of the Dangre tribe, who had been exiled by Musa Raina, set out towards Srinagar *via* Hirapur at the invitation of Ibrahim Magre. Musa, in order to avoid encountering them, took the route of Chira Har, but on the way he

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escape in the night by the Toshamaidan route. Thus the victory, which Malik 'Usman had gained over Lohar Magre, was thrown away and turned into defeat by the pusillanimity of Fath Shah.[119] This disheartened him, and he too fled. But he was pursued by Ibrahim Magre and captured. He was then thrown into prison and there put to death.[120] Shankar and Nusrat, however, having submitted were pardoned.[121]

Muhammad Shah (iii) 1514-15

After the flight of Fath Shah, Muhammad Shah became Sultan for the third time. He appointed Ibrahim Magre his chief minister, because it was due to his efforts that he had secured the throne. Meanwhile Fath Shah, having again decided to invade Kashmir, sent his son Habib Khan to find out the chances of his success. Habib Khan was joined by Jahangir Padar, and was promised support by the Chak nobles who were related to his mother.[122] With these assurances Fath Shah entered the Valley, and many nobles, including the Chak chiefs led by Kaji Chak, rallied to him. Owing to these defections Muhammad Shah and Ibrahim Magre did not offer any resistance, and left Kashmir for the Punjab.[123] Fath Shah thus recovered the throne after nine months of exile.[124]

Fath Shah (iii) 1515-17

Although Fath Shah was the Sultan, he was only a figure-head, for the real power was in the hands of the nobles. Moreover, his prime minister, Jahangir Padar, and the two chiefs Shankar Raina and Kaji Chak had

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Abdal and Firuz, the two sons of Ibrahim. This made the latter so demoralised that he fled to Punch. Thereupon Malik 'Usman became Wazir, and the kingdom was divided into three parts among 'Usman, Shankar, and Nusrat.(115)

Peace, however, lasted only for five months, after which Ibrahim Magre and the Chaks, who were in the Punjab, patched up their differences and decided to enthrone Muhammad Shah. They advanced from Punch to Baramula, and established themselves at Sopur [Sopore]. Thereupon Malik 'Usman with Fath Shah set out towards [Sopore], and encamped opposite the enemy forces with only the Jehlam between them. But as 'Usman could not cross the river and attack the enemy, he left behind Fath Shah and Shankar Raina to keep watch over their movements, while he himself marched by way of Khuyahom(116) to attack them from the rear. But Lohar Magre and Regi Chak came to know of his plan, and they tried to intercept him.(117) They were however defeated at the village of Pushkaranaga, (118) and retreated to join Muhammad Shah's forces. When Malik 'Ali Sarkhail heard of this defeat, he decided to play a ruse. He spread the news through some of the trusted men of Fath Shah that Malik 'Usman had been defeated and killed, and that Muhammad Shah's forces would cross the river next day to seize Fath Shah. The latter should, therefore, escape to Punch while there was still time. On being informed of this Fath Shah was seized with panic and, leaving behind part of his baggage, made good his

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also be an unnecessary burden upon the country. He therefore left behind the Indian troops at Danaor, and with 2,000 of his followers proceeded towards Srinagar. On arriving there he appointed Kaji Chak his Wazir, but suspecting Shankar Raina of treachery, he threw him into prison.[132] He then returned to Danaor to dismiss the Indian troops. He accompanied them as far as Naushahra, and there he bid them farewell. But as winter had set in, and the routes to Kashmir were blocked by snow, he himself decided to remain in Naushahra.[133].

During Muhammad Shah's absence the Valley was plunged into civil war. Nusrat Raina was angry at the imprisonment of Shankar and the appointment of Kaji Chak as chief minister, and so he revolted with the help of Lohar Magre. Kaji, on the other hand, was joined by Jahangir Padar who had hitherto been his rival. Each faction thus prepared for a conflict. Nusrat Raina finding himself not strong enough to fight a pitched battle with Kaji Chak, decided upon a night attack. But his plan miscarried, for Kaji came to know of it and was ready to oppose him. The engagement took place at (Zialdagar). Kaji was wounded, but Nusrat's fall demoralised his supporters and they fled. The Chaks were thus victorious. Early in spring Muhammad Shah entered Kashmir accompanied by Sayyid Ibrahim, the son of Sayyid Muhammad Baihaqi.(134)

Kaji Chak's friendship with Jahangir Padar was only short-lived. Early in 1520 he despatched his son

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assigned him only the revenues of the crown lands, while they had divided the rest of the Valley among themselves.(125)

In the autumn of 1515 Muhammad Shah with Ibrahim Magre entered Kashmir to claim the throne. They were met by the royal forces at Bangil. Ibrahim Magre was killed with his two sons, but Muhammad Shah managed to escape to Punch. After wandering for nearly two years he proceeded to the court of Sultan Sikandar Lodi (1489-1517) to seek his help. He was received with respect and supplied with a force of 3,000 men. With these Muhammad Shah set out towards Kashmir.(126) When he reached Danaor,(127) he received messages of loyalty and promises of support from Kaji Chak, Shankar Raina, and Nusrat Raina.(128) And shortly after, these nobles raised the banner of revolt against Fath Shah and occupied the fort of Harshin.(129) Fath Shah and Jahangir Padar besieged them, but were repulsed. Fath Shah thereupon fled to the Punjab.(130) There he died in August 1517. His body was brought to the Valley, and Muhammad Shah had it buried with all due ceremonies near the grave of Sultan Zainu'l-'Abidin.(131)

Muhammad Shah (iv) 1517-28

Meanwhile, hearing the news of Fath Shah's overthrown and convinced of the loyalty of his own supporters, Muhammad Shah decided to dispense with the aid of the foreign troops whose presence in the Valley would not only make him unpopular but would

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received the jagir of Mas'ud for his success against Jahangir and Gada'I Malik.[142]

In 1522 the Magres again invaded and brought with them this time Fath Shah's second son, Habib Khan, as pretender. But as their forces were small they failed to achieve anything. Moreover, 'Idi Raina went over to the enemy. This disheartened them, and they retired from the Valley. On the way Habib died. His body was brought to Srinagar and buried near the grave of his father. Soon after Kaji recalled the Magre chiefs and entered into marriage alliances with them.[143]

Kaji Chak having pacified his enemies became very powerful. But this aroused the resentment of Muhammad Shah who found himself to be a ruler only in name. He therefore won over some of the important nobles like Malik Abdal, Lohar Magre, Malik 'Ali Chadura, and Regi Chak, and plotted Kaji's overthrow. He left the city and proceeded to Lar with Nauruz Chak, a cousin of Kaji, to organise resistance. There was however no conflict, for when Kaji saw that the nobles on whom he depended had deserted him, he got disgusted and went away to Naushahra in 1527.[144]

Soon after these events, Kashmir was threatened by an invasion of the Mughals under Kuchak Beg and Shaikh 'Ali Beg who were despatched by Babur to help Sikandar in securing the throne.[145] When Kaji Chak heard of this his patriotism was stirred, and although he had received no orders from Muhammad Shah, he prepared to repel the invasion. He collected a force

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Mas'ud with a large force to seize Jahangir Padar who was in the village of Pampur.[135] Jahangir warned of this fled to Dardu, where he joined Gada'i Malik. Mas'ud having plundered his house returned to Srinagar.[136]

Next year in May 1521 there was another rising led by Malik Abdal, the son of Ibrahim Magre, Lohar Magre, and 'Idi Raina. They joined Fath Shah's son Sikandar, and, having proclaimed him ruler, seized the fort of Nagam. Jahangir Padar and Gada'i Malik, who were in Dardu, also set out towards Nagam in order to support Sikandar. Kaji Chak sent Daulat and Mas'ud, to intercept him at Lulpur,[137] and when Sikandar after this reverse retreated to the fort of Nagam, he besieged him there. Meanwhile Daulat Chak attacked Gada'i Malik near Shadipur and killed him.[138] But Mas'ud Chak did not fare well against Jahangir Padar. Being struck by an arrow in the eye, he fell from his horse and died.[139] But in spite of this temporary setback the victory lay in the end with the Chaks. Daulat after defeating Gada'i Malik, crossed the river at Shadipur, and joined Sayyid Ibrahim and Tazi Chak who had been sent by Kaji Chak to the help of Mas'ud. Together they prevented Jahangir Padar from crossing the river and joining Sikandar in the fort of Nagam.[140] Meanwhile Sikandar, finding his position untenable, since no help could reach him, made overtures of peace to Kaji and then fled to the Punjab. Soon after Jahangir Padar too made good his escape[141] Lohar Magre and 'idi Raina however submitted and were pardoned by Muhammad Shah. Daulat Chak, Kaji's nephew,

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Muhammad Shah with some of the nobles was imprisoned in the village of Lad.[149].

Sultan Ibrahim Shah I (1528-29) and Nazuk Shah (1529-30)

Ibrahim Shah[150] was a ruler only in name, for it was Kaji who exercised real power. Soon after Malik 'Ali Chadura, Regi Chak, and the Magre chiefs, who were in exile, conferred at Naushahra and decided to send Abdal Magre to the court of the Emperor Babur to seek his help against Kaji Chak. Abdal proceeded to Delhi and was received with honour by the Emperor who gave him an army under his two commanders, Shaikh 'Ali Beg and Muhammad Khan.[151] With this Mughal force the Kashmiri chiefs set out to invade Kashmir. But realising that the people of the Valley would look upon the coming of the Mughals with distrust, Abdal Magre declared Nazuk Shah also called Nadir Shah, the son of Fath Shah, as Sultan.[152]

Early in the spring of 1528 the rebel chiefs with Nazuk Shah and the Mughal army entered Kashmir. Kaji Chak, hearing of this, at once marched against them, and met them at Tapar.[153] Although he and his followers fought with great courage, they were defeated. Many of the Chak nobles, including Tazi Chak, lost their lives. Kaji however succeeded in escaping to the Salt Range, while Sayyid Ibrahim, Ghazi Chak, and Daulat Chak were made prisoners and sent under a guard to the city. But on the way, at nightfall, Daulat Chak escaped in a boat, and remained

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from the surrounding area and sent Tazi Chak, Husain Chak, and his son Ghazi who was at this time only about eighteen years of age, against them. Both Ghazi and Tazi, fought bravely and defeated the Turks in the neighbourhood of Naushahra. Kaji then seized Sikandar who had invited the Mughals.(146).

When Muhammad Shah heard of this, he expressed his gratitude to Kaji, and requested him to forget the past and return to Srinagar. Kaji accordingly returned in 1527, and brought with him Sikandar whom he handed over to Muhammad Shah. Sikandar was blinded by the Sultan's orders, although Kaji Chak opposed the infliction of such a cruel punishment. Sikandar died in prison after a few days(147)

Muhammad Shah again appointed Kaji his Wazir. But this led to the revival of old feudal rivalries. The Magres and Malik 'Ali Chadura revolted against Muhammad Shah for having shown favour to Kaji. They entrenched themselves in the village of Kichhama, (148) and prepared for resistance. Muhammad Shah despatched Kaji and Sayyid Ibrahim against the rebels. The Magre forces were completely routed, and Malik 'Ali was captured. He was made over to Tazi Chak who confined him in his house. But shortly after he managed to escape to the Punjab with the connivance of Tazi. Meanwhile differences had arisen between Kaji and Muhammad Shah. As a result Kaji deposed him in favour of his son Ibrahim.

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succeeded by Humayun. When the Mughal commanders returned to Lahore they informed Kamran, Humayun's governor of the Punjab, that owing to the disunity in Kashmir it was not difficult to conquer it.[160] Kamran, therefore, in 1531, set out towards the Valley accompanied by Mahram Beg and Shaikh 'Ali Beg. On reaching Naushahra, Kamran sent his two commanders with 3,000 horse to undertake the invasion, while he himself stayed behind.[161] Owing to the absence of any strong government in the Valley the passes were left undefended, and so the Mughals easily entered the country. However, the Kashmiris tried to check their advance on the capital, but were defeated, and had to retreat to the fort of Chiraodar.[162] The Mughals thereupn marched on Srinagar and occupied it. They sacked the city, set fire to it, and slew the Kashmiris who had come down from the hills to fight them.[163] After this they marched on the fort of Chiraodar, which was also occupied, the Kashmiri forces having withdrawn to Athwajan [164] without putting up a fight. When Kamran, who was still in Naushahra, heard the news of these victories he returned to Lahore, convinced that Kashmir had finally been reduced, and that there would be no further resistance.[165]

At first the Kashmiri nobles thought that Kaji Chak was supporting the Mughals, but learning that he was neutral, they appealed to him to return from the Salt Range, where he was at the moment living, in the hour of his country's need, and save it from falling under foreign domination. Kaji, in response to this

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in the neighbourhood, immersed in water up to his chin with his head covered with water-lilies. His guards searched for him until midnight with the help of a large number of boats but without success. After the guards left, Daulat made good his escape. Ghazi and Sayyid Ibrahim, however, remained in custody, and with them the Magre and the Mughals entered the capital in triumph.[154]

Owing to the victory of the Magres, Ibrahim Shah, who had been set up by Kaji and was the son of his sister Saleh Maji,[155] was deposed and Nazuk Shah was enthroned. Nazuk transferred his capital to Naushahr and gave assurance of safety to the Kashmiris who were apprehensive of the Mughals. Abdal Magre assumed the office of Wazir.[156] But Nazuk Shah remained in power only for a year,[157] for Muhammad Shah, who was in prison at Lad, was brought from there and enthroned in the summer of 1530. But he was a ruler in name, for the real power was wielded by the nobles who had been responsible for his recall. He was given the crown lands for his expenses, while the rest of the kingdom was divided equally among Abdal Magre, Lohar Magre, Regi Chak, and Malik 'Ali Chadura.[158]

Muhammad Shah (v) 1530-37

After these changes the Mughal troops were given presents and requested to leave, for it was felt that their permanent stay in the country would not be good for it. Malik 'Ali was deputed to escort them as far as Naushahra.[159] Meanwhile, Babur died and was

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REFERENCES

1. *Ibid., f.* 77b; Sriv., pp. 183-4

2. Sriv. (Bo.ed), BK ii, No; Munich MS., f. 77b.

3. Sriv., p., 186 calls him Riktetara, but subsequently he is mentioned as Purna. See also Sriv. (Bo.ed). Nos. 30, 52 where he is called Rikitara and Purnapati respectively. Munch MS. calls him Puni, while Nizamu'd-Din and Firishta refer to him as Luli. In Arabic characters Puni can be easily read as Luli.

4. Sriv. pp. 199-3; Munich MS., f. 78a.

5. Sriv., p. 189.

6. *Ibid., p. 194;* Munch MS., f. 78a. It seems Adham Khan had married a Jammu Princess. After his son Fath Khan was brought up by the Jammu Raja. (Sriv., p. 309).

7. *Munchi MS.*, f 78a; T.A., iii, p. 447.

8. Sriv. (Bo.ed), BK. ii, No. 127, refers to Saida Khanqah which must be the Khanqah-i-Mu'alla.

9. *Ibid.*, No. 122 sq.

10. Sriv., pp. 195-6

11. Ibid., pp. 198-9

12. *Ibid., p. 199;* Munich MS, f. 78b.

13. Sriv., P. 200.

14. The story that Bahram had the Sultan poisoned and prevented him from receiving proper medical treatment is unreliable. (See Sriv., p. 203).

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request, at once set out towards the Valley and joined the Kashmiri forces at Athwajan.[166] His arrival raised their morale and spirit so that, when they were attacked by the Mughals at Athwajan, they put up a fierce fight and defeated them. Encouraged by this success, the Kashmiris established themselves on the Takht-i-Sulaiman, and from there began to lead attacks on the enemy in the city. The Mughals resisted for some time, but as they could not hold out much longer, they made overtures of peace.[167] After an hour's negotiations carried out between Kaji Chak and Mahram Beg in a boat on the Jehlam, the Mughals agreed to quit Kashmir. They received presents, and after a few days left for Lahore *via* Baramula, escorted by Daulat Chak and Jahangir Magre up to Pakhli.[168]

After the withdrawal of the Mughals, the Valley was divided by the nobles into five parts, excluding the crown lands belonging to Muhammad Shah and the jagir of Sayyid Ibrahim. Abdal Magre, who continued as Wazir, Lohar Magre, Kaji Chak, Regi Chak and Malik 'Ali Chadura each received one part.[169] But hardly had Kashmir recovered from the effects of the Mughal invasion when, after a year, it was subjected to another attack. This time from the north-east, from Kashghar, by Mirza Haidar Dughlat.

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30. Sriv., pp. 217-8.

31. *Ibid.*, p. 219; T.H., ii, f. 107b; T.A., ii, 449. Firishta is wrong in saying that Bahram died three days after. *Cam. His. Ind.*, iii, p. 285, follows Firishta.

32. Sriv., p. 110.

33. *Ibid.*, pp. 203, 217.

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35. Sriv., p. 221. Srivara thinks the charge of treachery was false.

36. *Ibid.*, pp. 223, 240. Tazi Bat, had served Hasan Shah in his wars outside Kashmir in the time of his father and so was favoured by him (*Ibid.*, p. 208). He also enjoyed the confidence of the queen. (*Ibid.*, p. 238).

37. Sriv., BK., iii, Nos. 226-7; T.A., iii, 450. At another place Sriv. wrongly says that Prince Husain was under the guardianship of Tazi Bat (No. 328). Actually it was Nauruz who was the guardian of Prince Husain (See T.A., iii, 450). The youngest son Prince Yusuf was under Malik Ahmad (Sriv., (Bo.ed.) BK. iii, No. 373).

38. Sriv., p. 238.

39. *Ibid.*, p. 239.

40. B.S., f. 59a; H.M., ff. 123b-24a. The statement in T.A., iii, 449 that there was an engagement between Tazi and Tatar is not corroborated by Kashmir chronicles.

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15. *Ibid.*, pp. 200-3.

16. N.A., f. 49b.

17. Sriv., p. 204.

18. *Ibid.*, p. 188.

19. N.A., f. 49 b.

20. Munich MS., f. 77b.

21. Sriv., p. 206, calls it Zain-nagar.

22. B.S., f. 58b calls him Malik Ahmad Aitu, but T.H., ii, f. 107a, calls him Malik Ahmad Yatu. Nizamu'd-Din and Firishta refer to him as Malik Ahmad Aswad. Aswad in Persian means black or powerful. G.A., f. 135b, says he was given the title of Qutbu'd-Daula.

23. Sriv., p., 208, uses the term *Dvarapala* instead of *Amir-i-Dar* or *Hajib-i-Dar* of Persian chronicles.

24. Ikshika is the Sanskrit name for Yech pargana north of Nagam pargana. (Stein, ii, 475).

25. G.A., f. 135b.

26. Sriv., p. 210.

27. *Ibid.*, p. 211; T.A., iii, 448.

28. Sriv., p. 211. Dulipur is a village lying on the edge of the forest about 2 miles south-east of Shalura, on the road to Sopur [Sopore].

29. Sriv, pp. 212-3; T.A. iii, 449.

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29. Sriv, pp. 212-3; T.A. iii, 449.

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right bank of the river. Stein, Bk. VI, No. 300n. wrongly says that it is between the sixth and seventh bridges.

54. Sriv., pp. 224-5.

55. S.A., pp. 39-40; W.K., f. 36b; T.H., I, ff. 139a-b; Sriv., p. 235.

56. The locality cannot be traced. Either its name has changed or it has disappeared.

57. The name Kheri is the older form of Khur used by both Kalhana and Srivara. Khur is a large village situated about 2 miles from the Vishoka, in Lat. 33° 37′ Long. 74° 56′ 45″ (Stein, ii, p. 470).

58. This town was founded by Raja Vijay, and its ancient name was Vijayeshvara. It is 25 miles south-east of Srinagar in Lait. 33° 48′ Long. 75° 9′.

59. Sriv., p. 227.

60. B.S., f. 61a.

61. *Ibid.*, f. 61b; Sriv., p. 252.

62. *Ibid.*, p.302.

63. *Ibid.*, p. 268.

64. *Ibid.*, P. 268-70; B.S., f. 61b.

65. Sriv., pp. 270-1; Firishta, 668. B.S ff. 62a-63a. but B.S., does not refer to the part played by the ruler of Jammu.

66. B.S., ff. 62a-63a. The number 30 given by Sriv., p. 272, is exaggerated.

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41. B.S., ff. 59a-b; Hasan, f. 123a; H.M., ff. 123b-24a.

42. Srivara is very confusing on this point. At one place he says that Tazi was in charge of Prince Muhammad on this point. At one place he says that he was in charge of Prince Husain. K Actually Tazi was the Guardian of Prince Muhammad and Nauruz of Prince Husain (See above, note 2). When Malik Ahmad became angry with Tazi, he had the guardianship of Prince Husain as well transferred to his son. He himself of course remained in charge of the education of Yusuf till his fall.

43. Sriv. pp. 241-44.

44. *Ibid.*, p. 245.

45. *Ibid.*, (Bo.ed.), BK, iii, No. 373.

46. *Ibid.*, pp. 246-8.

47. *Ibid.*, p. 209.

48. I.A., ii (1908), p. 191. Also Sriv., p. 253, but Srivara wrongly calls Sayyid Hasan as Sayyid Nasir who had by this time died.

49. Sriv., p. 253.

50. *Ibid.*, p. 262; T.A., iii, 450.

51. *Ibid.*, pp. 450-1; Sriv., pp. 263 sqq.

52. *Ibid.*, pp.. 130-2; B.S., f. 58b; H.M., f. 123b.

53. The palaces at Didamar were built in 1474 (Sriv., p. 224). Didamar is Diddamatha of Srivara. It is now a quarter of Srinagar and is situated below the seventh bridge on the

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Long. 74° 54′. Being on the high road from the Pir Panjal Pass to Srinagar it has been the scene of many battles.

79. Sriv., pp. 315-8.

80. Munich MS., f. 81a.

81. It is a small village in Lat. 33° 36′ Long. 74° 27′ on the road between Bhimbhar and Kashmir. It is situated in a deep gorge at the foot of the Ratan Pir Pass. Its old name was Bhairavagala.

82. Sriv., pp. 322-3; Munich Ms., f. 81a; T.A., iii, 455.

83. Sriv., p. 325.

84. *Ibid.*, Munich MS., f. 81b. Zirk Bat had also deserted to Muhammad Shah. But later he was put to death by Jahangir Magre. (Sriv. p. 327).

85. *Ibid.*, pp.. 328 sqq; Munich MS., f. 81b.

86. It is a plateau south of Srinagar and is called Damodaroddara by Srivara and Damoodarasuda by Kalhana (Stein, Bk. 1 No. 156; vol, ii, 475).

87. Sriv., pp. 328-32; also Munich MS., ff. 81b-82a.

88. Sriv., ff. 334-5.

89. Praj., pp. 338-9.

90. It was a village near Srinagar, but now it has disappeared and is not found on the maps.

91. B.S., f. 68a; H.M., ff. 124b-25b.

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67. B.S., ff. 63b sqq.

68. Munich MS., f. 79a; T.A., iii, 452. See also Sriv., pp. 274-5. Edarajanaka of Srivara is 'Idi Raina of Persian chronicles.

69. Munich MS., f. 79a; T.A., iii, 452; Sriv., p. 276, calls her Sobana.

70. Munich MS., f. 79a; T.A., iii, 452.

71. *Ibid.*, 453; Munich MS. f. 80a.

72. *Ibid.*, f. 80a; T.A., iii, 453.

73. *Ibid.*, Munich MS., ff. 80a-b.

74. *Ibid.*, Sriv., pp. 302-3. The account in B.S., ff. 65b-66b is partial to the Sayyids. It is wrong to say that peace was brought about by the mediation of the 'Ulama and that the Kashmiri nobles repented for their part in the assassination of Sayyid Muhammad's father.

74. Sriv., p. 302.

75 T.A., iii, 454, says that Fath Khan after Tatar Khan's death became governor of the Punjab. But this is not supported by any other authority. Sriv., p. 309 only says that after Tatar Khan's death his son gave protection to Fath Khan, who after some time went to live in Jalandhar.

Munich MS., f. 80b says that after Tatar's death Fath Khan proceeded to Rajauri. Probably this was done at the invitation of the Kashmiri chiefs.

76. Sriv., pp. 311 sqq.

77. It is a plateau south of Srinagar , crossed by the road from Shupiyan. Srivara calls it Gusikoddara. (See Stein, ii, 474).

78. Srivara calls it Kalyanapura. It is situated in Lat. 33° 48′

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REFERENCE

106. B.S., ff. 77a-b. H.M., f. 130a, says Shams Chak remained in office for two months.

107. B.S., f. 78a

108. *Ibid.*, H.M., ff. 131 a-b. These chronicles state the Musa Raina remained in power for nine years, but this seems incorrect, for Fath Shah himself reigned for nine years, and during this period ministerial changes occurred seven times

109. ,H., ii, f. 115a.

110. B.S., f. 80b-81a; H.M., f. 131a.

111. H.M., f. 131b B.S., ff. 81aa-b says his death was caused by a fall from his horse. According to T.H., ii, f. 115b, his neck got entangled in a vine creeper and he fell from the horse and died on the spot. But this manner of death is also attributed to 'Idi Raina by Haidar Mailk and Narayan Kaul.

112. B.S., f. 81b; H.M.F. 1316 I.A., xxxvii, p. 192.

113. B.S., ff.. 81b-82a; H.M., ff. 131b-32a.

114. B.S., ff. 83a-b; .H., f. 132a; Praj. pp. 343-4.

115. It is a pargana on the northern shore of the Volur Lake. Srivara calls it Khuyashrama.

116. B.S., ff. 83b-84a.

117. *Ibid.*, f. 84a; H.M., f. 132b. Puskaranaga is a village situated in Lat.. 34° 2′ Long 74° 33′ at the foot of the hill of the same name on its east side.

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92. It is not traceable on any map. There is, however, a village of the name of Garura on the Volur lake.

93. B.S., ff. 67a-b.

94. B.S., f. 68; H.M., f. 125b. N.A., f 53b says that Fath Shah was also a party to the coalition against Shams Chak. But this is not corroborated by earlier accounts.

* Kopwara is situated 55 miles north-west of Srinagar.

95. It lies on the Pir Panjal route to Kashmir, and is distant about 122 miles south-west of Srinagar. It is situated in Lat. 33° 10' Long 74° 18'

96. H.M., ff. 125b-27 a; B.S,. ff. 68a-70a.

97. It is the modern name of the Kishanganga Valley from below Shardi as far as Karnav. Its ancient name was Duranda, but the Persian chronicles call. It Dardu. (Stein, BK. viii No, 2709n),

98. B.S., f. 70-b; H.M., ff. 127a-b

99. B.S., ff. 71a-b; H.M., ff. 127b sqq; N.K., ff. 30a-b

100. H.M., f 129a.

101. *Ibid.*

102. See Appendix A for more details of his life.

103. B.S., ff. 71b-72; *Tuhfatu'i-Ahbab,* pp,. 68-9; *Majmu'* a *dar* Ans. Mashaikh-I *Kashmir,* f. 111b.

104. B.S., ff. 72a sqq: H.M., f. 129b;

105. B.S., f . 77a.

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Srinigar of the Sanskrit chronicles is no other than Shankar Raina.

132. B.S., ff. 86b-7a; H.M., ff. 133a-b; also Suka, pp. 351-3.

133. B.S., ff. 87a-b; H.M., ff. 134a-5a; Suka, pp. 351-2.

134. H.M., f. 135a; T.H., ii, 119a. Pampur is situated on the right bank of Jehlam about 8 miles south-east of Srinagar. Its ancient name was Padmapura.

135. H.M., f. 135b; N.A., f. 60b; B.S., f. 89b, says that Jahangir fled to Kamraj.

136. It is an import place near Chrar Sharif in Badgam Tahsil, about 9 miles south of Srinagar. It is famous for its springs.

137. B.S., f. 89; Munich MS., ff. 84a-b; Suka, pp. 355-7.

138. *Ibid;* H.M., f. 135b.

139. B.S., f. 90b.

140. H.M.,. f. 136a,

141. *Ibid.;* Suka, p. 358.

142. *Ibid.;* pp. 358-9.

143. *B.*S., 91a; H.M., f. 136a.

144. Babur does not refer to this event in his *Memoirs.* But T.A., iii, 460, says that Sikandar returned with a party of the Mughals; and Firishta, 673, says that the Mughals belonged to Babur. See also B.S., f. 91a.

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118. B.S., ff. 84b-5a; The route followed by Fath Shah is mentioned in B.S. as being *via* Jawail. I cannot find this place on maps. In T.H., ii, f. 117a. It is the Toshamaidan route. In Suka, p. 436, it is the Hirapur route.

119. B.S., f. 35a; H.M., f. 132b. Suka, p. 347, calls Mailk 'Usman as Utsa mailk.

120. N.A., f. 58b.

121. H.M., f. 132b.

122. *Ibid.*, 85b.

123. *B.S., f. 85b.*

124. *Ibid;* H.M., f. 132b.

125. *B.*S., ff. 86a-b; H.M., f. 133a Suka, pp. 348-9. Munich MS., f. 83a and T.A., iii, p. 458, wrongly state that Muhammad Shah proceeded to the court of Sikandar Khokar. T.A., borrowed it from Munich MS.

126. It is marked on Stein's map as lying north-east of Rajauri. J.A.S.B., lxviii, 1899.

127. B.S., f.. 86a.

128. Harshin is a village about 10 miles south-west of Shupiyan.

129. H.M., f. 133a. According to B.S., f. 85a, Fath Shah's overthrow was brought about by Mir Shamsu'd-Din.

130. B.S., f. 88a; H.M., f. 135a; Munich MS., f. 84a.

131. Shankar was later killed in prison (N.A., f. 60a). but Suka, p. 355, says that he died a natural death. Rajana

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according to Stein, B.K vii, No. 1631n, it was probably a territorial division in Kashmir. Firishta and T.A. have Silah, but it is really Nila. B.S.,. and H.M. merely say that the battle took place in Bangil pargana. Nila must have situated near Tapar.

153. B.S., ff. 92a sqq; H.M., ff. 137b-8a; Munich MS., ff. 85a-6a.

154. W.K., f. 42b.

155. Munich MS., ff. 86a-b; T.A., iii, 462.

156. Munich MS., f. 86b.

157. H.M., f. 138b.

158. Munich MS., f. 86; B.S., f. 95; H.M., f, 138b,

159. B.S., f. 96a; T.A., iii, 363. N.A., f. 64b, is wrong in saying that Babur sent Kamran, because Babur had died in December 1530.

160. B.S., f. 96; H.M. f. 138b.

The date 937/ 1530 as given by B.S. and H. M. is incorrect, because when the expedition took place Babur was no longer alive. (See T.A., iii, 363). The expedition therefore must have taken place in 1531.

161. B.S., f. 96a. Chiraodar is a *karewa* situated to the south-west of Srinagar on the road to Shupiyan. It is a local name not commonly known.

162. Suka, p. 370; T.A., iii, 463.

163. It is a hamlet situated on the right bank of the Jehlam at the southern base of Tarkht-i-Sulaiman.

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145. B.S., ff. 91a-b; H.M., f. 136a. See Also N.A., ff. 61b-2a. N.K., ff. 32a-b.

146. B.S., f. 91a; Munich MS., f. 85a; Suka, pp. 361-2.

147. It is about 5 miles south-west of Baramula. It is the point where the Jehlam is said to leave the Valley.

148. B.S., f. 92a; H.M., (B.N.), f. 137a. Aalso Suka, p. 364, who calls Lad as Gaggada. But Munich MS., f. 86a, says Muhammad Shah was imprisoned in Loharkot. T.A., iii,, 462, follows Munich MS.

Lad cannot be traced. Probably it is a *nar* (narrow vale) with Lad as its local name.

149. Ibrahim Shah had accompanied his father to Ibrahim Lodi. Muhammad Shah after receiving the aid had left, but Ibrahim had remained behind with the Lodi Sultan. After the battle of Panipat in which Ibrahim seems to have fought on the side of the Lodis against Babur, he returned to Kashmir. (Munich MS., f. 85a; Firishta p. 674; Suka, p. 363).

150. B.S., f. 92a; H.M., f. 137a; Munich MS., ff. 85a-b. T.H., ii, f, 120b, says that Babur gave Abdal 20,000 troops. But this is absurd. Suka, p. 364, gives the figure as 1,000. T.A. and Firishta do not give any figures.

151. Munich MS., f. 85a; Suka, p. 365.. H.M. and B.S. do not mention Nazuk Shah at all. Firishta Wrongly says that Nazuk Shah was the son of Ibrahim Shah.

152. Briggs, iv. P. 491. Tapar is a considerable village situated on the high road from Baramula to Srinagar in Lat. 34° 12′ Long 74° 34′. Its ancient name was Pratapapura. (Stein, ii, 482) Suka, p. 365, mentions Nilashva as the place of the battle. This place cannot be identified. But

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156. Munich MS., f. 86b.

157. H.M., f. 138b.

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CHAPTER VII

MIRZA HAIDAR DUGHLAT AND HIS CONQUEST OF KASHMIR

Mirza Muhammad Haidar Dughlat was born in 1499-500 at Tashqand, the capital of the province of Shash, where his father was governor. He descended from the Dughlat tribe, a sub-division of the Chaghatay branch of the Mongols. On his mother's side he was related to Babur, their mothers being sisters.

Mirza Haidar's father possessed a treacherous and intriguing nature; and it was owing to his constant intrigues that Shaibani Khan, the Uzbeg chief, had him assassinated at Herat. Mirza Haidar, who had been with his father, was carried away to Bukhara by some of the relatives who felt that his life was in danger. From Bukhara he was taken to Badakhshan and thence, after a year, was brought to Kabul where he remained with Babur for two years and accompanied him in his campaigns. Then, in the beginning of 1514, he was summoned by his uncle Sultan Ahmad, the Khan of Mughalistan. Shortly afterwards Sultan Ahmad died, and Mirza Haidar entered the service of the Khan's son, Sultan Sa'id Khan, and remained with him for nineteen years.[1]

Mirza Haidar participated in Sultan Sa'id's wars against the Kirghiz, the Uzbegs and other tribes, and was sent to distant expeditions. But among these campaigns the most important was the one in which he was despatched along with Prince Sikandar Mirza, Sultan Sa'id's second son, to conquer Ladakh which

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164. B.S., ff. 96a-b; H.M., f. 139a.

165. Munich MS., f. 87a; T.A., iii. 463-4; N.A., ff. 65a-b.

166. B.S., f. 96b; H.M., f. 139a.

167. B.S., ff. 97a-b Suka's account of the invasion in very brief.

168. B.S., f. 97b.

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their forces, while the Balti Tibetans living in the villages of Kashmir acted as his guides. Mirza Haidar crossed the Zoji-La and entered Kashmir early in January, 1533.[6] He then sent 400 experienced men under Tuman Bahadur Qabuchi against the Kashmiri forces which had advanced to offer resistance in the defile of Lar.[7] At dawn they attacked the Kashmiris, stationed as outpost at the upper end of the defile. Taken by surprise the Kashmiris fled, and were pursued by the Mongols. When the main body saw this, they too fled. Meanwhile, Haidar's remaining force arrived and joined in the pursuit.[8] The Kashmiris took refuge in the fort of Hanjik.[9]

The Mughals, having crossed the defile of Lar, marched on Naushahr, which they occupied without any difficulty. Mirza Haidar took up quarters in Zainu'l-'Abidin's palace of Rajdan and fortified it.[10] After staying there for twenty-four days he proceeded towards Maraj (Maraz). His followers set fire to the villages and towns and destroyed the grand edifices built by the former rulers of the country.[11] They massacred the men, and made the women and children their slaves. They made no distinction between Muslims and non-Muslims, for all alike suffered at their hands. As a result of these atrocities many of the inhabitants fled from the Valley to the safety of the mountsins.[12]

From the month of January to March 1533, Mirza Haidar's forces carried on their ravages. Meanwhile, the Kashmiris had recovered from the first

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had already been many times raided by parties sent by Sultan Sa'id.[2]

Mirza Haidar set out in July 1532.[3] He occupied Nubra, a province of Ladakh, and then proceeded to Maryul, near Leh. Meanwhile, while, severe winter had set in; and as there was no place in Ladakh which could be regarded as suitable for winter quarters, Kashmir was selected for the purpose. At this time Mirza Haidar was informed that the Khan was proceeding towards Maryul, and that he was afflicted with *dam-gir*. Mirza Haidar, therefore, leaving his troops behind advanced to meet him, and then together they entered Nubra. Mirza Haidar pointed out that in Ladakh there was no district which could provide winter quarters for more than 1,000 men. Kashmir, on the other hand, could support a larger army; but, as the Khan was not strong enough to cross the high passes leading into the Valley, he should with 1,000 men proceed to Baltistan which could be easily reached without causing *dam-gir*. The rest of the troops, Mirza Haidar suggested, should spend their winter in Kashmir under his command.[4]

The total number of men which the Mongols had at this time was 5,000. Of these 3,000 belonged to the Khan, and 2,000 to Mirza Haidar. The Khan, according to Mirza Haidar's advice, retained 1,000 and advanced towards Baltistan, while Mirza Haidar with 2,000 men proceeded to join his own army of 2,000 and, having effected the junction, set out towards Kashmir.[5] On the road the Ladakhi chiefs submitted and joined him with

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distinguished noble, advised him to attack the Kashmiri chiefs who had established themselves on the mountains and from where they swooped down to harass the Mughals. But Mirza 'Ali Tagha'i, another noble, was opposed to this plan on the ground that as the Kashmiris were occupying strong positions, it would be disastrous for the Mughals to advance against them. He therefore suggested that the best course would be to attack their families in the Valley. The result of this would be that those whose families were in the Valley would come down to defend them, while those whose families were on the hill-tops would remain behind. Thus the enemy forces would be divided, and they could then be easily overpowered. Mirza Haidar followed 'Ali Tagha'i's advice and rejected that of Da'im 'Ali. But the consequence was that he had to move from place to place chased by the Kashmiris. In the end, however, he halted at Chadura.[17]

Meanwhile 'Ali Tagh'i began suggesting that it would be difficult to conquer Kashmir, and the Mughals should therefore withdraw from the country. The soldiers, tired of continuous warfare and longing for their homes, were won over to this point of view. Mirza Haidar could have put 'Ali Tagha'i to death, as suggested by Dai'm 'Ali, for carrying on these intrigues, and then completed the conquest of Kashmir. But he decided to quit the country, and accordingly made overtures of peace to the Kashmir nobles[18]. As a result of the negotiations it was agreed that the *khutba* was to be read in the name of Sa 'id Khan;[19] that

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shock of invasion and defeat. Their spirits were aroused by the 'Ulama who from their refuge in the island on the Volur [Wular], issued a decree that the killing of the invaders was not only permissible but obligatory, and that any one who died fighting against them would be a martyr.[13] This pronouncement provoked the Kashmir is to effective action, and they began to organise resistance. They hung on to the Mughal forces, and harassed them by cutting down stragglers and striking at their baggage and thus hindering their movements. Mirza Haidar tried to avoid the enemy, but early in spring his troops were forced into an engagement at Bagh-i-Bavan.[14] Baba Sharq Mirza, his commander, with 500 horse encountered Malik 'Ali Chadura. But he was wounded and fled. Seeing this, Da'im 'Ali from the right and Mirza Haidar from the left, each with 1,000 horse, advanced to attack. The Kashmiris fought with great courage but, after Malik'Ali Chadura and some other chiefs were killed, they became demoralised and fled.[15]

This defeat did not dishearten the Kashmiris, who, under the leadership of Kaji Chak and Abdal Magre, again prepared for resistance. They however avoided pitched battles and, instead, began to harass the Mughals by descending from the hills and making surprise attacks. These tactics proved successful, for they began to wear down Mirza Haidar and his followers.[16]

Alarmed at these developments, Mirza Haidar took counsel from his officers. Mir Da'im 'Ali, a

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MIRZA HAIDAR DUGHLAT AND HIS CONQUEST OF KASHMIR

Early in the spring of 1538 Regi Chak went to Jammu to marry the daughter of its' ruler. Kaji Chak took advantage of his absence and returned to the Valley, assisted by the Gakkhars,[28] in order to overthrow the Magre faction. He encamped at the village of Gaisu,[29] and then proceeded to besiege the fort of Sopur [Sopore], where Abdal Magre, Lohar Magre, and the chiefs of Chadura had shut themselves in, as they did not think they were strong enough to fight Kaji a pitched battle without the help of Regi. While the siege was in progress, Regi returned from Jammu. Kaji therefore left Daulat Chak, Ghazi Khan, and Sayyid Ibrahim to blockade the fort, while he himself with a strong force marched against Regi who had arrived in Srinagar. Regi prepared himself for resistance in 'Ala'u'd-Dinpur, but after a severe engagement he was defeated. Meanwhile the Magres, hearing that Kaji had proceeded to the city, left Sopur [Sopore]. But they were attacked by the troops left behind by Kaji and routed. The Magre chiefs tried to reorganise their forces, but failed and so fled to Rajauri[30].

After the fall of Abdal Magre, Kaji Chak became prime minister; and when, shortly after, Shamsu'd-Din II died he set up Muhammad Shah's another son, Isma 'il, who was his son-in-law, on the throne. Kaji was able and efficient, and ruled the country with justice. He promoted the welfare of the peasants and treated the nobles generously. In spite of this the latter conspired to

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Muhammad Shah's brother's daughter was to be given in marriage to Prince Sikandar Sultan;[20] that presents were to be given for Sa 'id Khan; that Kashmiris who were prisoners in the hands of the Mughals, were to be released;[21] and that, in return, the Mughals were to give woolen cloth and other articles as presents to Muhammad Shah .[22] After concluding the treaty Mirza Haidar left Kashmir at the end of May 1533 by the same route by which he had come[23].

After the withdrawal of the Mughals Kashmir was visited by a severe famine, because owing to continuous fighting and the ravages of the Mughals not much cultivation had been possible[24]. Fortunately, the famine lasted only for a year, and as during this period the nobles remained united, the sufferings of the people caused by starvation were not aggrevated by civil war. Perfect peace reigned in the country for three years[25].

Sultan Shamsu'd-Din (1537-40).

In about the middle of 1537 Muhammad Shah died, and was succeeded by his second son, Shamsu'd-Din[26]. Shortly afterwards the civil war flared up. Kaji Chak, who was living at his jagir of Zainapur, proceeded to the city, with his followers to attack the Magres and Regi Chak. But the latter, learning of his approach, withdrew to Baramula. Kaji Chak followed him, but as Daulat Chak and other chiefs, who were his supporters, went over to his enemies, he left for the Punjab[27].

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wanted to help them, and pleaded on their behalf with Kamran, but without any success. When, however, Kamran marched to deal with the rebellion of his brother Hindal, Mirza Haidar accompanied him to Agra, and there managed to raise an army.[35] This was placed under Baba Jujak, one of Kamran's superior officers,[36] who was instructed to proceed with Khwaja Haji. But as Baba Jujak possessed neither courage nor initiative, he did not move beyond Lahore, and under one pretext or another postponed his march. And when he heard of Humayun's defeat at the Ganges, near Qanauj, by Sher Shah (May 17, 1540), he finally gave up the expedition, keeping the Kashmiri chiefs waiting for him in vain in the hills of Rajauri.[37]

After the retreat of the Mughals from Qanauj to Lahore as a result of Humayun's defeat, Abdal Magre and Regi Chak again appealed for assistance through Khwaja Haji, assuring Mirza Haidar that Kashmir could easily be conquered and pointing out the advantages of such a conquest.38 At this time the Mughal nobles were discussing the general policy the Emperor should adopt. Mirza Haidar proposed that he should be allowed to proceed to Kashmir which he knew from personal experience and from the assurances of Abdal and Regicould be occupied in two months. After the conquest of the Valley the Mughals should send their families and baggage there for safety, while they themselves should take up strong positions on the Outer Hills of Kashmir, extending from Sirhind to the Salt Range. This would be a safe position because Sher

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assassinate him. But they were discovered and imprisoned. After some time, however, Kaji released them and restored to them jagirs which he had confiscated[31]. He then divided the kingdom into three equal parts between himself, Sayyid Ibrahim, and Sultan Isma 'il Shah. But Kaji could not remain long in power, for Kashmir was threatened by a fresh Mughal invasion.

Mirza Haidar's Conquest of Kashmir.

After his withdrawal from Kashmir Mirza Haidar carried on war in Tibet and Ladakh. Meanwhile, news reached him that Sultan Sa'id had died and had been succeeded by his son Rashid Sultan, who had begun his reign by putting to death all those whom he suspected of plotting in favour of his brother Sikandar. Mirza Haidar feared that, since he was also known to be on friendly terms with the prince, he would incur the displeasure of Rashid Sultan. He therefore gave up the idea of returning to Kashghar or continuing the campaign. Instead he left Ladakh, and, after a hazardous journey, went to Badakhshan.[32] From there he proceeded to Lahore and served Kamran for some time. He then entered the service of Humayun, who treated him with honour and called him 'brother' after the Mughal fashion.[33]

While he was in Lahore, Mirza Haidar had received an appeal for help from Abdal Magre and Regi Chak against Kaji Chak through Khwaja Haji who was acting as their agent with the Mughals.[34] Mirza Haidar

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greatly disgusted Humayun who, therefore, gave up the idea of going to Kashmir, and turned to the west.[44] Mirza Haidar was thus left with a handful of retainers in his own pay and about 400 men given to him by Humayun at Lahore.[45] He was, however, not disheartened, knowing that owing to the disunity in Kashmir he would be able to conquer it even with the small force at his disposal.

Kaji Chak, hearing that Mirza Haidar had arrived in Rajauri and that he had been joined by Abdal and Regi, at once proceeded to the Kapartal Pass[46] to prevent his entry. But Mirza Haidar abandoned that route, and on the 22nd of November, 1540, entered Kashmir by the Punch Pass.[47] Kaji was baffled at the turn of events, and so, instead of organising resistance to the invaders, he along with Isma'il Shah left the country *via* Hirapur, and proceeded to Sher Shah to seek his help.[48] As there was no one to offer him any opposition, Mirza Haidar occupied the Valley without even striking a blow.

Mirza Haidar set up Nazuk Shah on the throne and made Abdal Magre Wazir. He then divided the kingdom into three equal parts between himself, Abdal Magre and Regi Chak. But early in spring, on the first day of Nauruz, Abdal Magre died of paralysis.49 Thereupon his son Husain Magre was given his jagir and the Wizarat.[50]

Meanwhile Kaji Chak had reached the court of Sher Shah.[51] The Afghan ruler, impressed by the scars

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Shah would not be able to bring his infantry owing to the difficult nature of the terrain.39 Mirza Haidar and the Mughal nobles in general agreed to the proposal, but Kamran rejected it and suggested that the women and baggage should be sent to Kabul, while the men should remain in the hills or go to Kashmir. Meanwhile news came that Sher Shah had reached the banks of the Beas, and as a result the Mughals were struck with panic. Mirza Haidar, on being consulted by Humayun, again suggested the Kashmir plan. Humayun agreed and gave him 400 men and permitted him to proceed to Naushahra. Mirza Haidar was assured that as soon as the Kashmiri chiefs would join him, Sikandar Tupchi, a fief-holder in the neighbourhood, would come to his assistance. When Mirza Haidar would reach the pass, Khwaja Kalan, a high officer of Humayun, would enter Naushahra. When Mirza Haidar would enter Kashmir, the Khwaja would advance to the foot of the pass. Humayun would then himself proceed towards the Valley.[40]

In accordance with this plan Mirza Haidar marched to Naushahra and was joined by Abdal and Regi. But neither Sikandar Tupchi nor Khwaja Kalan moved to his help.[41] In fact they did not render any aid even to Humayun when he, at the end of October 1540, proceeded from Lahore to Sialkot with the object of going to Kashmir. Khwaja Kalan went away from Sialkot and joined Kamran at Behra,[42] while Sikandar Tupchi, frightened at the news of Sher Shah's approach near Lahore, took refuge in the Sarang hills.[43] The cowardly and treacherous conduct of his officers

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Regi Chak who was at the moment in his jagir of Kamraj (Kamraz). But Regi, warned in time of his intentions, fled to the hills of Rajauri and joined Kaji Chak (1543).[60] Mirza Haidar, not finding Regi at Kamraj, razed to the ground his house, and then returned to Andarkot. Next year, early in spring, Regi and Kaji again entered Kashmir to drive out the Mughals, and encamped at Gulmarg. Mirza Haidar with the Mughal and Kashmir forces advanced against them, and having made a surprise night attack, defeated Kaji and Regi, who again fled to the Punjab hills.[61] On Friday, September 12, 1544, Kaji Chak died of fever at Thanna.[62] Although left alone Regi again invaded Kashmir in 1546. But he was defeated and killed by a force sent by Mirza Haidar .His head was cut off and brought before the Mirza.[63]

These victories made Mirza Haidar the *de facto* ruler of Kashmir. He, however, retained Nazuk Shah as Sultan in whose name the *khutba* was recited and coins were struck. Mirza Haidar's relations with Husain Magre and 'Idi Raina also remained cordial.[64]

After overpowering his enemies Mirza Haidar decided to recover the territories which had been a part of the kingdom of Kashmir until the time of Hasan Shah. He first attempted the conquest of Kishtwar and advanced from Lar in 1548. He himself remained in the village of Jhalu,[65] and sent Bandagan Koka and 'Idi Raina with an army to reduce Kishtwar. On arriving at the village of Dahut, situated on the river Marma,[66] they found the Kishtwar army entrenched on the other side,

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of numerous wounds which Kaji had received in various battles, welcomed him graciously and conferred upon him the title of Khan-i-Khanan and gave him 5,000 horse and two elephants under the command of 'Adil Khan and Husain Khan Sherwani.[52] With these forces, early in the spring of 1541, Kaji entered Kashmir *via* Hirapur.[53] Hearing of this, Mirza Haidar left his family in the fort of Andarkot, and with Husain Magre, Regi Chak and 'Idi Raina marched against Kaji.[54] He encountered him at Watanar,[55] but the battle was indecisive. For a month after this the parties engaged with each other in skirmishes and then, owing to the floods and rains, they withdrew. While Kaji established himself at Girdar,[56] Mirza Haidar encamped at Kother.[57] But after the floods had subsided, the combatants took their stand at Vahator,[58] and on August 13, 1541, fought a severe battle. Although the Chaks had 5,000 cavalry and several thousand foot-soldiers while Mirza Haidar had only 3,000 they were defeated and Kaji with Daulat Chak, Sayyid Ibrahim, and the Afghans fled to India. But Malik Naji, who had been wounded, submitted and was received with honour by Mirza Haidar.[59]

In the beginning, Mirza Haidar's relations with the Kashmiri nobles had been cordial. He had treated them with respect, and sought their advice on all matters of the state. But after some time he became arrogant and began to look down upon them and to ignore them. Regi Chak was the first to resent his attitude. Mirza Haidar, apprehending mischief, won over Husain Magre and 'Idi Raina, and set out to seize

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locked in the front by the Mughals and in the rear by Islam Shah, he moved towards the hills of Rajauri.[71] There he met Daulat Chak and Ghazi Chak,[72] who proposed that he should accompany them to Kashmir in order to overthrow Mirza Haidar.[73] His followers were agreeable to the proposal, but Haibat Khan rejected it and sent a Brahman agent to Mirza Haidar to come to terms with him. Having received a large sum of money from the Mirza, Haibat Khan gave up the idea of invading Kashmir and went away to Birna near Jammu. The Kashmiri chiefs, getting disgusted at his attitude, separated from him and went over to Islam Shah.[74] But Mirza Haidar, in order to win over the latter to his side, sent to him, in 1550, Khwaja Shams Mughal with a large quantity of saffron. After a year the Khwaja returned to Kashmir, accompanied by Yasin Afghan, with rich presents from the Afghan ruler. Mirza Haidar presented Islam Shah's *wakil* with shawls and saffron, and then gave him leave to depart.[75]

Although a strong champion of orthodoxy, Mirza Haidar had been, at first, owing to reasons of political expediency, very liberal towards the followers of the Nurbakhshiya sect. In fact, to please Regi Chak and other chiefs, who were Nurbakhshiyas, he had even visited the tomb of Mir Shamsu'd-Din and paid homage like a devotee. But after the revolt of Regi Chak his attitude changed, for he became convinced that in order to maintain peace in the Valley, uniformity of religion was essential.[76] He therefore, on the advice of Maulana Jamal and Shaikh 'Umar, banned the Nurbakhshiya sect.[77] He then destroyed the tomb of Shamsu'd-Din, in

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ready to prevent their passage. There was an exchange of arrows and musket shots, but the Mughals could not cross the river. The next day, however, they tried to enter Kishtwar by a detour from the main road. When they arrived at the village of Dar it became dark and they were attacked by the enemy. Bandagan Koka, the commander of the Mughal force, Muhammad Magre and many other lost their lives. In fact the casualties on the Mughal side were so heavy that ever since the place has been called Mughal Maidan or Mughal Mazar. Only a few persons managed to escape and join the Mirza after suffering great privations.[67]

Although Mirza Haidar failed against Kishtwar, he was more fortunate in other directions. In 1548 he occupied Baltistan and Ladakh and placed them in charge of Mulla Qasim and Mulla Baqi respectively. He then conquered Rajauri from the Kashmiri chiefs and entrusted it to Muhammad Nazar and Sabr 'Ali. Finally, he reduced Pakhli and appointed Mulla 'Abdu'llah as its governor.[68]

In 1549 Haibat Khan Niyazi, the governor of Lahore, revolted against his overlord, Islam Shah Sur. Being defeated at Dungot,[69] near Sambhal, he took refuge in the Sarang hills with the Gakkhars. Isma'l Shah, thereupon, made war upon the latter and crushed them. Haibat Khan then fled to the outer mountains of Kashmir, pursued by Islam Shah as far as Bhimbhar. Mirza Haidar was alarmed at the move of the Afghan chiefs, and so advanced to prevent them from entering the Valley. When Haibat Khan found that his way was

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associated them in the government of the country, but later on he began to look down upon them, ignoring their claims, concentrating all power into his own hands, and appointing his own followers as governors of different provinces.[84] The result of this policy was that even those Kashmiri nobles who had hitherto remained loyal to him were now alienated and began to conspire his overthrow.

Meanwhile, trouble had broken out in the Outer Hills, and therefore, in 1551, Mirza Haidar sent an army of Mughals and Kashmiris *via* Baramula under his cousin Qara Bahadur accompanied by Husain Magre, 'Idi Raina, and Khwaja Haji.[85] When it reached Mankot[86] the Kashmiri chiefs decided to attack the Mughals, [87] and having separated from Qara Bahadur, they proceeded to the top of the hill and sent a small force supported by the hill people to cut off his communications with Kashmir. Early next morning the Kashmiris descended from the hill and attacked the Mughals. The latter resisted till mid-day, but in the end fled, pursued by the Kashmiris who killed many of them and seized their baggage. Those who escaped took refuge in the fort of Barbal.[88] Thereupon, 'Idi Raina despatched about 500 horse under Husain Magre, Naji Malik, and Khwaja Haji to besiege the fort, while he himself proceeded to Punch. As the Kashmiris, who were being helped by the hill people, outnumbered the Mughals, Qara Bahadur got disheartened and decided to make peace with them, but some of the chiefs like Sayyid Mirza and Mirza 'Ali Koka were against it and wanted to fight their way to the Gakkhar country. Qara

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1545 put to death Hazrat Rishi.[78] He also executed Sufi Da'ud, Mulla Hajib Khatib and many other Nurbakhshiyas; while some like Qazi Mir 'Ali were exiled and their houses destroyed.[79] Shaikh Daniyal, the son of Shamsu'd-Din, who had gone away to Skardu owing to Mirza Haidar's intolerance, was brought back in 1549 and thrown into prison. After this false witnesses were obtained to testify that he had reviled the first three Caliphs, and on that charge, on March 14, 1550, he was executed by the decree of Qazi Habib, Qazi Ibrahim, and Qazi 'Abdu'l-Ghafur.[80] His trunk and head were taken away by his followers and secretly deposited and, after Mirza Haidar's death, they were collected and buried in the tomb of his father Shamsu'd-Din.[81]

The execution of Daniyal was a great mistake committed by Mirza Haidar because he was a pious man and much respected in the country. The Mirza had been warned by Mulla 'Abdu'llah, one of his confidants, against this step, but he had ignored him replying that Daniyal's execution was necessary for the stability and welfare of the kingdom[82]. In reality, however, the effect of his policy was contrary to his expectations. Malik 'Idi Raina and Malik Muhammad Naji, who had embraced Shi'ism became inimical towards the Mirza for his persecution of their co-religionists and they decided to overthrow him.[83] They won over Nazuk Shah, Husain Magre and Kwaja Haji who not only disapproved of Haidar's intolerance but also his arrogance and nepotism. In the beginning he had treated the Kashmiri nobles with respect and

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killed by the Kashmiris.[90] Similarly, Koka Mir, who had been sent to establish order in Kishtwar, was defeated and killed with 1,500 of his troops in the pargana of Adavin.[91] On receiving these distressing news from all sides, Mirza Haidar proceeded to Srinagar and thence moved to Vahator,[92] to engage with the Kashmiri chiefs who, led by 'Idi Raina, had fortified themselves in the fort of Manar, near Khampur.[93] But as Mirza Haidar had a small force, he decided upon a night attack. Although some of his officers dissuaded him from such a hazardous undertaking.[94] Mirza Haidar ignored them, and after designating his brother 'Abdu'r-Rahman to succeed him, he marched against the enemy with about 700 or 800 horse. When he reached the base of the fort he left his troops behind, and with only thirty men proceeded to the top of the buttress. But on the way most of his followers fell out, and he was left with only seven men. While he was trying to enter the fort, he was killed by an arrow (October 1551).[95]

This is the only contemporary account of Mirza Haidar's death known to exist, and there is no reason to doubt its authenticity, for Sayyid 'Ali, its author, was in the Mirza's service, and participated in this campaign. It is true that he was not present on the spot when Mirza Haidar was killed, but he must have written on the basis of information gathered from reliable witnesses.

Besides the account of Sayyid 'Ali, there are other versions also about the manner of Mirza Haidar's death. According to one version, he was slain by Kamal

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Bahadur ignored their advice, and left the fort with some of his followers in order to negotiate with the Kashmiris. But as he advanced he was attacked by the enemy. Seeing this the rest of the garrison also came out of the fort and made for the Gakkhar country. Although they were pursued by the Kashmiris, they succeeded in making good their escape. But those belonging to Qara Bahadur's party were either killed or taken captives. The latter were taken to 'Idi Raina who was in Punch. Qara Bahadur, Qutb 'Ali Koka, and Muhammad Nazar were imprisoned while others had their hands cut off. After this victory 'Idi Raina sent a message to Daulat Chak, who was in Naushahra, to join him. Daulat at once set out and met 'Idi Raina who had entered the Valley *via* Hirapur. A large number of people flocked under their banner, and together they marched towards Srinagar.[89]

These happenings caused great anxiety to Mirza Haidar. After consulting his followers, he left his family in the fort of Andarkot with a Mughal garrison and some Kashmiris, and then marched against 'Idi Raina. But just at this time serious revolts broke out in Baltistan and Ladakh against Mulla Qasim and Mulla Baqi respectively. Mulla Qasim with his followers was killed, but Mulla Baqi succeeded in escaping and joining Mirza Haidar near Andarkot. Risings also took place in Pakhli, and its governor, 'Abdu'llah Samarqandi, was defeated by the rebels. Meanwhile, learning of the disaster that had befallen Qara Bahadur, he became so demoralised that he decided to withdraw to the Valley. But when he reached Baramula, he was

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would not molest the family and followers of Mirza Haidar. After this his family was brought from Andarkot to Srinagar and treated with respect. They were then sent *via* Pakhli and Kabul to Kashghar. But some of the Mughals, like Sabr 'Ali and others, who took the route *via* Ladakh, were killed by the Ladakhis.[101]

The exploits and career of Mirza Haidar is reminiscent of his cousin Babur. Like him he possessed great adventurous spirit, and was always active both in body and mind. Like him also he was generous and affectionate, a fearless fighter and a great general.[102] But he did not have the same insight into human nature, and he lacked the tact and prudence and the broad humanity of his great cousin. He was, however, not petty-minded and could rise to great heights of magnanimity. Thus he could have easily declared himself as Sultan of Kashmir, but did not do so as an act of self-denial. Instead, he raised Nazuk Shah to the throne as a stop-gap until Humayun's return from exile, and as soon as, in 1545, he heard that Humayun had occupied Kabul and Qandahar, he transferred to him the sovereignty with which he had invested Nazuk Shah. He read the *khutba* and struck coins in the name of Humayun, and even invited him to Kashmir, suggesting that it would serve as a useful base for the invasion and reconquest of Hindustan.[103]

In the beginning Mirza Haidar ruled Kashmir with justic and ability. He recovered some of the territories which had been subject to Kashmir in the

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Dubi with a sword;[96] according to another, a butcher is said to have shot an arrow which hit him in the thigh and killed him.[97] Haidar Malik, however, relates that Mirza Haidar was killed with an axe by a butcher who suspected him to be a Mughal spy.[98] All these versions, it must be remembered, are based on hearsay, and may therefore be discounted as spurious. However, there may be some truth in the tradition contained in the *Tabaqat-i-Akbari* that, while he was leading the attack, Mirza Haidar was accidentally struck by an arrow discharged by Shah Nazar, a cuirassier, belonging to his own army.[99] This statement does not in any way conflict with that of Sayyid 'Ali, who is silent over the question whether Mirza Haidar lost his life at the hands of the enemy or one of his own men.

When in the morning Mirza Haidar's body was discovered, the Chaks wanted to insult it, but Husain Magre and Sayyid Muhammad Baihaqi had it buried near the grave of Sultan Zainu'l-'Abidin, and protected it for a month.[100] The Mughals, on Mirza Haidar's death, had fled to Andarkot. There they were besieged by the Kashmiris. But after three days of fighting Mirza Haidar's widow decided to make peace with the enemy saying that, as the Mirza was dead, it was useless to continue the conflict. She accordingly sent Amir Khan, the architect, to negotiate the terms of surrender. Husain Magre exercised a moderating influence on those Kashmiri nobles who were in favour of continuing hostilities, and finally secured a settlement. Qara Bahadur and others who were in prison were released. The Kashmiris gave an undertaking that they

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in Persian.[111] Besides the *Ta'rikh-i-Rashidi* which he composed in Persian while he was in Kashmir, he is also regarded as the author of the anonymous *Jahan-nama*, a metrical treatise on Geography in Turki, which he is said to have written during his stay in Badakhshan in 1508-9.[112]

But these qualities of Mirza Haidar were offset by his excessive religious fanaticism. In his zeal to preserve the Islamic orthodoxy he banned Shai'ism and the Shafi'ite school.[113] Moreover, he secured a decree from the 'Ulama of Hindustan that the Nurbakhshiyas were heretics, and that it was perfectly lawful to destroy them if they persisted in their beliefs and refused to accept the teachings of Abu Hanifa. Accordingly he began to persecute them, and put to death many of their leaders. He also placed a ban on other Sufi orders on the ground that Sufis led immoral lives, ate and drank forbidden things, and spent their time interpreting dreams, displaying miracles, and prostrating themselves before one another. In this way Mirza Haidar compelled every Muslim to conform to the Sunni faith.[114] But his success was only short-lived, for the Kashmiri nobles resented his religious bigotry and joined hands to bring about his overthrow.

During his stay in Kashmir Mirza Haidar felt as if he was in exile, and the thought of his own country never left his mind.[115] In 1547, when an ambassador arrived from Kashghar, he proceeded to Lar to welcome him.[116] In fact all through the period he kept himself in touch with his relations and friends in Kashghar. This

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time of Zainu'l-'Abidin. He established good government, and tried to promote trade, agriculture and industry. But later on, with the worsening of his relations with the Kashmiri nobles, the administration gradually deteriorated, and he failed to protect the peasants from the high-handedness of the Mughals.[104]

Few medieval rulers of Kashmir did so much for the promotion of art and culture of Kashmir as Mirza Haidar. He was, in this respect, a great admirer of Zainu'l-'Abidin, and tried to follow in his footsteps. He sent for artists and craftsmen from different countries, and revived arts which had been languishing due to continuous civil wars.[105] He patronized men of learning, and appointed teachers in every village for the education of children.[106] He built a number of mosques in Srinagar with baths, which kept the prayer-rooms warm in winter so that even in extreme cold weather people could pray there and take rest. He also constructed magnificent edifices, and laid out beautiful gardens in Andarkot. He introduced new types of windows and doors, and made innovations in dress and food.[107]

Mirza Haidar was very versatile and a man of many accomplishments.He excelled in penmanship, painting, and various kinds of handiwork. [108] He was a great lover of music, and introduced into Kashmir various types of musical instruments.[109] According to Jahangir, Mirza Haidar's court was celebrated for skilled musicians.[110] Mirza Haidar was also an excellent poet in Turki and a good poet and prose writer

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REFERENCE

1. For more details of Mirza Haidar's life, see T.R. Intro., pp. 1-27.

2. *Ibid.*, pp. 403, 417.

3. T.R. (MS.), iii, f. 12a has the end of Zu'l-Hijja 938 end of July, 1532. But T.R. (trans.), p. 417, just gives Zu'l-Hijja 938.

4. T.R., pp. 417-21.

5. *Ibid.*,p. 421. According to H.M., f. 139 a, Mirza Haidar had 14,000 horse and 20,000 foot. According to T.A., iii, 464, Suka, p. 370, and Munich MS., f. 87b, he had 12,000.

6. T.R., p. 423. According to the *S.O.S. Bulletin*, viii, p. 938, Mirza Haidar arrived in Kashmir on Jumada ii, 28, 939/ Dec. 26, 1532. But as the 1st of Jumada ii, 939, corresponds to the 29th Dec., 1532, the Mirza must have invaded Kashmir early in January 1533. The date of Sha'ban 4, 932/March 1, 1533, given in A.N., i, 404, is incorrect.

7. T.R. (MS.), iii, f. 14b, but T.R., p. 423, has Kaluchi. The defile is about 3 miles above the village of Gagangir. (See Stein, ii, 490).

8. T.R., pp. 423-4.

9. It is a village about 4 miles west of Srinagar in Lat. 34° 5′ Long. 74° 47′.

10. T.R., p. 437.

11. B.S., f. 98a; Munich MS., f. 87 b; T.A., iii, 464.

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failure to regard Kashmir as his home and to identify himself with its people proved disastrous for him. For it made him arrogant, and prevented him from making serious efforts to win the affection and good-will of the Kashmiris. He began to lean more and more upon the support of his own followers, thereby alienating the Kashmiri chiefs. This eventually led to his downfall.

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28. B.S. (B.M.), f. 77a.

29. It is a village south-west of Nagam.

30. B.S., ff. 103a sqq.; H.M., ff. 142a sqq.

31. B.S., ff. 106a-b; H.M., f. 144b.

32. T.R., pp. 450 sqq.

33. Ibid., pp. 473.

34. Ibid., p. 481. A.N. i, 359, is wrong in saying that the Kashmiri chiefs came down from Rajauri to Lahore.

35. T.R., p. 482; A.N., i, 359.

36. A.N., i, 359.

37. T.R., p. 482; A.N., i, 359.

38. T.R., p. 482; A.N., i, 360; B.S., f. 107a. Ross in his trans. Wrongly calls Regi Chak as Zangi Chak, although in T.R. (M.S.), iii, f. 50a, it is Regi Chak.

39. T.R., pp. 479-80.

40. T.R., p. 483; A.N., i, p. 360.

41. T.R., p. 483.

42. A.N., I, 402; Banerjee, Humayun, ii, 16.

43. This is in the Gakkhar country, south-west of Kashmir. It lay on the Indus and extended from the Siwalik hills to the borders of Kashmir. (I.A., xxxvi, p. 8).

44. A.N. , i, 360; Banerjee, Humayun,ii, 13.

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12. B.S., f. 98a; also Suka, p. 371.

13. B.S., ff. 98b-9a.

14. T.R. (MS.), iii,f. 21b. Bagh-i-Bavan was situated on the plateau of Martand. The village of Bava, containing a magnificent spring, is situated on the left bank of the Lidar. It is in Lat. 33° 46′ Long. 15°. The plateau is the Sahara-i-Babel of the Persian chronicles. Ross in his trans, of T.R., p. 438, wrongly calls it Bagh-i-Navin.

15. B.S., ff. 99b-100b; H.M., ff. 140a-41b; Munich MS., f. 88a.

16. B.S., ff. 101a-b.

17. T.R. (MS.), iii, f. 22a. The trans, has Jarura which is wrong.

18. T.R., pp. 489 –41.

19. Ibid.

20. Ibid.; B.S., f. 101b.

21. Munich MS., f. 89a; T.A., iii, 465.

22. Ibid.; Also Suka, p. 373 for the terms of the treaty.

23. T.R., p. 373; S.O.S., Bulletin, viii, p. 988; Suka, p. 373.

24. B.S., ff. 102a-b; Suka, pp. 373-74.

25. B.S., ff. 102a-b.

26. Ibid.,; Suka, p. 375.

27. B.S., f. 102b.

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REFERENCE

57. B.S., f. 108a: N.K., f. 34b. Kother (ancient Kapateshvara) is a village situated in Lat. 33o 40′ Long. 75o 18′. It is in Kutahar pargana.

58. B.S., f. 108a; H.M., f. 145b. Vahator is 7 miles south of Srinagar on the high road towards Shupiyan in Lat. 33o 58′ Long. 740 51′.

59. B.S., ff. 108a-b; H.M. ff. 145a-b; A.N., i, 403. Ross in his trans. gives the date of battle as 8 Rabi'ii, 948/Aug. 1, 1541.

60. B.S., f. 110a; H.M., ff. 146a-b. T.A., iii, 468, assigns the year 950/1543 for Regi's flight.

61. B.S., f. 110a.

62. Ibid., ff. 110a-111a. B.S.is wrong in saying that Kaji died at Danagalla. (See H.M. (B.N.), f. 47b and N.A., f. 69b).

63. T.A., iii, 469.

64. B.S., f. 111a; N.K., f.34b.

65. It is situated near the boundary of Kishtwar and is locally known, but cannot be traced on the maps.

66. Marma is a rivulet in Kishtwar which swells during the rainy season. As regards the localities of Dar, Dahut, and Jhalu, they are locally known, but they cannot be traced on the maps.

67. J.P.H.S., iv, p. 37.

68. T.A., iii, p. 470. T.A. says Ladakh was placed under Muhsin, while according to Firishta it was placed under Mulla Hasan

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45. A.N., i, 402.

46. Kapartal Pass or Kandal is 9 miles east of Rajauri. It is on the Hirapur route. Another variant of Kapartal is Karanbal. (See A.N., iii, 746n. 3).

47. T.R., p. 485; A.N., i, 402. B.S., f. 107a gives 21 Rajab 947/21 Nov., 1540. The year 948 A.H. given in T.A., iii, 467 is incorrect. The Punch Pass of Abu'l-Fazl is the Chira Har route of the Kashmir chronicles. (See H.M., f. 145a; S.A., p. 50).

48. B.S., ff. 107a-b; H.M., f. 145a; also T.R. p. 485.

49. B.S., ff. 107a-b; also T.R., p. 485.

50. B.S., f. 107b.

51. A.N., i, 403, says that Kaji presented his niece, who was Muhammad Shah's grand-daughter, to Sher Shah. But Kashmiri chroniclers do not mention it. T.H. ii, f. 125b, follows A.N.

52. A.N., i, p. 403; S.A., p. 40. B.S., f. 108a says Kaji was given a small force. According to T.A., iii, 468, it numbered 5,000. The number given by A.N. appears to be correct.

53. B.S., f. 108a; also S.A., p. 80.

54. T.R., p. 484; H.M., f. 145a.

55. It is a village in a grassy valley in the range of hills between Shahabad and Bring parganas.

56. It is a village situated in the Anantnag Tahsil, about 5 miles south-east of Islamabad.

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REFERENCE

81. B.S., ff. 112a-b.

82. Ibid., f. 112b.

83. N.A., ff. 71a-b.

84. H.M., f. 146b.

85. H.M., f. 147, and T.A., iii, 472 assign the year 958/1551 for these happenings. But B.S., f. 112b gives Sept-Oct., 1550.

86. A village and fort in the province of Punch and situated on the right bank of the Mandel stream in Lat. 33o 38′ Long. 74o 6′.

87. T.A., iii, 472, wrongly states that Husain Magre sent his brother to inform Mirza Haidar of the treachery of the Kashmiris, for the Magres themselves were a party to the conspiracy against the Mirza.

88. B.S., f. 113a; also H.M., ff. 147a-b where the account is given somewhat differently. Barbal was a fort near the Toshamaidan Pass on the route to Punch (See for more details, Stein, ii, 399 and n. 59).

89. B.S., ff. 114a-15a; H.M., ff. 147a-48a.

90. S.A., p. 52; B.S., ff. 115b--16a; H.M., f. 147b.

91. H.M., f. 147b.

92. S.A., p. 52; B.S., f. 116a. H.M. has Aunpur.

93. Khampur, is situated 10 miles souith of Srinagar on the high road leading to the Pir Panjal Pass. T.A. and S.A. wrongly call it Khanpur. B.S. and T.H. have Khampur

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69. It is a village on the Indus in Lat. 71° 40′ Long. 32° 58′.

70. Tar'rikh-i-Da'udi, f. 191b-92a; T.A., ii, p. 113. See I.A., 1907, pp. 8 sq. for the Gakkhar tribe.

71. Tar'rikh-i-Da'udi, f. 195a.

72. T.A., iii, 471. Tar'rikh-I-Da'udi, f. 195b incorrectly mentions Muhammad Nagar and Sabr 'Ali also, although they were loyal to Mirza Haidar.

73. T.A., iii, 713 (trans), and Firishta, p. 680, are wrong in saying that the Kashmiri chiefs took Haibat Khan to Baramula. There is no mention of this in either the Afghan or Kashmiri accounts. The Persian text of T.A., iii, 471 has, instead of Baramula, Damlah which cannot be identified.

74. Tar'rikh-i-Da'udi f. 196a; T.A., iii, 471. But both these chronicles are incorrect in stating that Ghazi Chak went to Mirza Haidar. Ghazi was against Mirza Haidar and so he could not have gone to him.

75. T.A., iii, 472.

76. B.S., f. 111b.

77. See infra p. 144.

78. B.S., f. 111b. S.A., p. 51; T.H., ii, f. 193b and W.K., f. 45a, say that Shamsu'd-Din's bones were taken out and burnt, and his tomb was turned into a public latrine. But B.S. and H.M. do not mention this.

79. N.A., f. 71a; N.K., f. 34b; T.H., ii, f. 127b.

80. B.S., ff. 111b-12a; S.A., p. 51; T.H., ii, f. 127b.

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REFERENCE

102. Razi, *Haft Iqlim*, f. 365a. Author of *Tar'rikh-i-Da'udi*, f. 196a says Mirza Haidar was "a courageous youth".

103. T.R., Intro., pp. 24-5.

104. H.M., f. 146b.

105. A.N., i, 404; H.M., f. 146a.

106. *Risalah dar Manaqib-i-Khulafa.* f. 513b.

107. N.A., f. 70b.

108. *Babur-nama,* i, 22.

109. A.A., i, 404.

110. *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri,* ii, 148.

111. *S.O.S. Bulletin,* viii, pp. 987-8; *Babur-nama*, ii, 22; also Razi, *Haft Iqlim,* f. 365a for an appreciation of Mirza Haidar's character.

112. *S.O.S. Bulletin,* viii, 987-8; Storey, *Persian Literature,* Sec., ii, Fasc. 2, p. 274.

113. B.S., f. 120a.

114. T.R., pp. 435-6; Firishta, 646-7; also B.S., f. 120b.

115. T.R., Intro., p. 19.

116. *Ibid..,* p. 469.

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Cunningham, according to Stein, is wrong in identifying it with ancient Kanishkapura. (Stein, ii, 482n.).

94. S.A., pp. 52-3. Sayyid 'Ali says that he and his father advised the Mirza not to make a night attack.

95. S.A., pp. 52-3, B.S., ff. 116a-b, agrees with this account. S.A. and B.S gives the date of Mirza Haidar's death as 6 Zu'l-Qara Bahadur'da 957/ Nov. 18, 1550. But A.A. (Blochmann), p. 313, and T.R., p. 22, say that the Mirza was killed in Oct. 1551. See also T.A. and H.M. which give the year 1551. I have followed these authorities, for the chronology of S.A. and B.S. is not always reliable.

96. A.N., i, 406; see also T.A. (trans.), iii, 718n. 1.

97. T.A., iii, 475.

98. According to H.M., f. 148a, Mirza Haidar set out alone to find out the conditioin of the enemy force. A butcher, who was skinning a cow, saw him and questioned who he was. The Mirza replied that he was neither a Persian nor a Kashmiri. The butcher, suspecting him to be a Mughal spy, delivered such a severe blow upon his head with his axe that he fell down from his horse and died. But this story appears to be apocryphal. In the first place it is incredible that a butcher should have been engaged in his work in the night near the scene of conflict. Secondly, Mirza Haidar who was a brave soldier and was well armed, could not have been killed by a butcher with an axe.

99. T.A., iii, 475.

100. S.A., p. 53; W.K., f. 46a; T.H., ii, f. 130a.

101. T.A., iii, 478; see also H.M., ff. 148b-49a.

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CHAPTER VIII

END OF THE SHAH MIR DYNASTY AND THE CHAK ASCEDANCY

NAZUK Shah, who had been raised to the throne by Mirza Haidar, was allowed to continue as Sultan by the nobles. But it was in reality 'Idi Raina, his prime minister, who was the virtual ruler. The latter treated the nobles with respect, and did his best to win their favour. Since the Chaks had suffered considerably under Mirza Haidar and were in economic difficulties, he rewarded them generously.[1] The Pargana of Divasar was allotted to Daulat Chak, the pargana of Vihi was given to Ghazi Chak and Kamraj (Kamraz) to Yusuf Chak and Bahram Chak, while Khwaja Haji received one lakh *kharwars* of paddy.[2]

In about the middle of 1552 news came that Haibat Khan Niyazi, whom the Gakkhars could no longer give protection, was advancing to invade Kashmir. Thereupon 'Idi Raina, Daulat Chak, and Husain Magre marched against him, and met him in the Banihal pargana. Severe fighting continued from morning till sunset. The Afghans fought valiantly. Bibi Rabi'a, the wife of Haibat Khan, in particular displayed a great courage. But in the end, owing to their inferiority in numbers, the Afghans were routed. Haibat Khan, Bibi Rabi'a, Shahbaz Khan and many other chiefs were slain. Their heads were sent by the Kashmiri nobles to Islam Shah.[3]

Soon after this, civil war flared up in Kashmir. Already before the invasion of the Niyazis, the nobles

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END OF THE SHAH MIR DYNASTY AND THE CHAK ASCENDANCY

Daulat Chak's rise to power marks the beginning of the Chak ascendancy in the Valley which lasted for over thirty years. The Chaks, as we have seen, had entered Kashmir in the time of Suhadeva and were raised to prominence by Sultan Shamsu'd-Din I. But it was not until the time of Muhammad Shah that they began to play an active part in the affairs of the kingdom. They increased their prestige and power by entering into marriage alliances with the principal landowning families of the Valley and the ruling dynasty; and by their tact, energy, perseverance, and valour they eventually succeeded in defeating all their rivals and making themselves supreme in the country.

Mirza Haidar had banned Shi'ism, the Nurbakhshiya sect, the Shafi'ite school and the various Sufi orders, having declared that no religion except the Hanafite was to be practised. But Daulat Chak lifted the ban, and issued a proclamation that people were free to profess any religion they liked, and that no one was allowed to impose his own beliefs upon others.[12]

Daulat Chak then built three mausoleums. One for Shaikh Daniyal, whose body was brought there and buried. Another he constructed over the grave of Mir Shamsu'd-Din, which had been destroyed by Mirza Haidar, and endowed it for the maintenance of Shamsu'd-Din's descendants and the servants of the hospice. In the third mausoleum the body of Bab'Ali Najjar was brought and buried. An endowment was created, and his son Baba Hasan was made its trustee.[13]

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under the leadership of Daulat Chak and 'Idi Raina had fought one another in Srinagar. 'Idi Raina had even employed the help of Qara Bahadur and other Mughals who had not yet left the country. Baba Khalil, the Shi'ite divine, however, by explaining to 'Idi Raina the disastrous consequences of placing trust in foreigners, had brought about peace between him and Daulat Chak.[4] But in reality it was nothing more than a truce, for, after the destruction of the Niyazis, dissensions in the Valley were revived. On the one side were the Magres, the Kopwara Chaks and the Baihaqi Sayyids headed by 'Idi Raina, and on the other were the Chaks led by Daulat Chak.[5]

Towards the end of 1552, 'Idi Raina decided to overthrow Daulat Chak.[6] But the latter anticipated his move by taking Husain Magre and Sayyid Ibrahim prisoner. The rest of 'Idi Raina's followers, however, managed to escape and join their chief. After a few days 'Idi with the Magres and Yusuf Chak set out to attack Daulat. But before they could do so, Daulat forestalled their move by himself crossing the Jehlam in Srinagar and attacking them.[8] While in a hurried flight on horseback, his neck got entangled in a vine creeper and he was killled on the spot.[9] Thereupon, Daulat Chak assumed the duties of prime minister. He deposed Nazuk Shah and set up in his place Ibrahim Shah, the son of Muhammad Shah, who, before Mirza Haidar's invasion, had already once reigned for a short time.[10] Nazuk Shah, finding no hope of recovering the throne, left for the Punjab.[11]

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END OF THE SHAH MIR DYNASTY AND THE CHAK ASCENDANCY

In the spring of 1556, some chiefs, headed by Nusrat Chak and Yusuf Chak, conspired to put Ghazi and his and him brother Husain Chak to death. But Ghazi discovered the plot and sent for the leaders. Not suspecting any danger they obeyed the summons. He remonstrated with them for their treacherous conduct and then detained them for the night.[18] Hearing of this Habib Chak, Shams Raina, and Muhammad Magre took up arms against Ghazi. They destroyed the bridge of the town and assembled in the field of Zialdagar (HNR). Ghazi proceeded to the river on the opposite side; and for a few days there was exchange of arrows and musketry between his forces and those of the enemy. But finding that the rebels were daily gaining in strength by fresh reinforcements, Ghazi crossed the river and attacked them in Zialdagar (HNR). After heavy fighting he defeated them. Habib Chak was killed, Yusuf Chak, the son of Regi Chak, was seized and thrown into prison, while Shams Raina and others escaped to India.[19]

Not long after these events, other Chak nobles like Ghazi's own brother Shankar Chak, Bahram Chak and Fath Chak organised a rising in Sopur [Sopore] (HNR). But Ghazi marched against them and defeated them. Bahram escaped to Khuyahom, but was captured there. He was brought to Srinagar and put to death. Ibrahim Chak, another son of Regi Chak, was also seized and executed. But Fath Chak and Shankar Chak escaped.[20] Orders were given to blind Yusuf Chak, who was in prison, but he managed to escape.[21]

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The ruler of Ladakh had not paid his tribute for many years. Moreover, his subjects had entered the Valley and driven away the flocks of sheep from the pargana of Khwarpara, which was included in the jagir of Habib Chak, brother of Nusrat Chak. Daulat Chak therefore sent Ibrahim Chak and Ghazi Chak's son Haidar Chak to invade Ladakh. Meanwhile Habib Chak had himself invaded Ladakh. He defeated the Ladakhis and, after occupying a number of their forts, compelled them to pay a tribute of 3,000 horses, 500 pieces of leather, 100 sheep, and 30 yaks.[14]

Daulat Chak treated the nobles kindly; and to win over the rival faction he released Husain Magre and Sayyid Ibrahim whom he had imprisoned for joining 'Idi Raina against him. However, some members of his own family, incited by interested persons, became jealous of him. Matters came to a head when he married Ghazi Chak's mother, the widow of his uncle, Kaji Chak. Ghazi Chak, Husain Chak and other of his relations greatly resented this marriage and made up their minds to overthrow him.[15] Towards the end of 1555, when Daulat Chak had gone in a boat for shooting on the Dal lake, Ghazi made a sudden attack on his troops who were in Husainabad. Taken by surprise, they fled. Thereupon, Ghazi seized all the Horses and set out in pursuit of Daulat Chak.[16] But the latter escaped to the hilly parts of the Phag pargana. He was, however, seized by a shepherd and brought before Ghazi, who had him blinded.[17] Ghazi now replaced Daulat Chak as prime minister.

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After this victory Ghazi sent Nusrat Chak on a good will mission to Akbar. Nusrat was received with honour by Bairam Khan.[28] Meanwhile, the Emperor had received a request for help through Qara Bahadur from the Kashmiri nobles who were opposed to Ghazi.[29] He welcomed this opportunity, and gave a large force to Qara Bahadur, who had previous experience of Kashmir, to lead the invasion. Qara Bahadur marched *via* Naushahra in the summer of 1560.[30] But he did not get any response from the nobles. On the contrary, Fath Chak and Lohar Chak, who were in Punch, deserted and went over to Ghazi. Similarly Nusrat sent a message to Ghazi that he was not on the side of the Mughals. The nobles who had promised to help Qara Bahadur, now backed out because they found that his army was not strong and he would be defeated. But the result of their attitude was that Qara Bahadur got disheartened, and did not move from Rajauri. Ghazi Chak, however, marched to Hirapur, and thence proceeded *via* Thanna to Loharkot. He sent a force of infantry which defeated the Mughals near Rajauri.[31] He then himself attacked Qara Bahadur who had marched to Danaor. Here, after a severe engagement lasting from morning till sunset, he routed the Mughals. Qara Bahadur escaped and joned Akbar at Agra. The Kashmiri chronicles say that Ghazi Chak had announced before the battle that anyone who brought the head of a Mughal would get an *ashrafi*, and so over 700 heads were brought. Ghazi Chak gave them the promised reward, and in some cases even five times as

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The Kashmiri chiefs, who had fled to India, sought the help of Humayun. The Emperor was willing to give them assistance, but soon after he died on January 24, 1556. Thereupon, they made advances to Abu'l-Ma'ali. He had been a great favourite of Humayun, who had called him his son. But Akbar after his accession ordered Abdu'l-Ma'ali's imprisonment owing to his arrogance, and sent him to Lahore.[22] From there, however, Abu'l-Ma'ali escaped to the territory of the Gakkhars. Although he was seized by Kamal Khan Gakkhar and thrown into prison, he managed to escape with the help of Yusuf Chak to Naushahra. There he entered into an alliance with Shams Raina, Fath Chak, Khwaja Haji, and the blind Daulat Chak;[23] and, having collected a force of 300 Mughals and 800 Kashmiris, he entered Kashmir *via* Punch and Baramula and encamped at Patan (1558).[24] When Ghazi heard of this he released Nusrat Chak and Sayyid Ibrahim, and with them set out against the enemy. He encountered Abu'l-Ma'ali at Hanjivera.[25] After heavy fighting, which lasted from morning till sunset, the invaders gave way. Shams Raina, realising that Abu'l-Ma'ali would fall into the hands of the enemy, sent him away with an escort of twelve men, and himself continued to resist, in spite of the severe wounds he had received. He then tried to commit suicide, but did not succeed. He was captured alive; and although his daughter was married to Ghazi's son, he was not spared but was executed.[26] A number of Mughals were also taken prisoners. They were beheaded, and their heads built up into minarets.[27]

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not even stop at the camp of Fath Chak to unite with him in order to resist the enemy. His example demoralised the followers of Fath Chak and they also fled. Fath Chak tried to rally them against the enemy, but was slain. When Ghazi Sahi heard of the disaster, he remonstrated with his son.[37]

In his old age Ghazi Shah was afflicted with leprosy which affected not only his general health but also his eyesight. He, therefore, entrusted the work of government to his brother Husain Khan, who had been his constant adviser during his rule, and designated him to be his successor.[38] He then divided equally all his personal belongings into two portions. One half he gave to his son while the other half he sent to the merchants for sale. But as the merchants regarded the price demanded by him as too high, they appealed to Husain Khan. The latter prohibited them from paying the price asked for. This angered Ghazi Shah so much that he decided to regain his powers and to nominate his son Ahmad as heir-apparent. But his plan miscarried for Husain Khan deposed him and himself ascended the throne at the end of 1563.[39] Husain Shah then issued orders for putting out the eyes of Ahmad. Ghazi Shah interceded on his behalf, but without success. He lingered henceforth a futile wretch for four years until he died in 1566-67[40] at the age of fifty-eight.[41]

Ghazi Shah possessed all those qualities necessary to found a dynasty, vigilance, courage, energy, tenacity of purpose, and ability to take

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much. He then returned to Srinagar, and constructed a bigger minaret of the skulls of his enemies.[32]

Ghazi Chak, on seizing power from Daulat Chak, deposed Ibrahim Shah and enthroned his brother Isma'il, another son of Muhammad Shah.[33] But when Isma'il Shah died in 1557, he proclaimed his son Habib Shah, who was his own nephew, as king.[34] In the year 1561, however, under the pretext that Habib Shah was incompetent, Ghazi Chak set him aside, and with the consent of the nobles himself ascended the throne, assuming the title of Sultan and laying the foundation of the Chak dynasty.[35]

In 1560-61, again, the nobles revolted under the leadership of Fath Chak and Lohar Chak. Ghazi despatched his brother, Husain Chak, the rebels perished in snow. The rest proceeded to Kishtwar, but as they were in great distress they surrendered to Husain Chak. He mediated on their behalf with Ghazi Shah who pardoned them and granted them jagirs.[36]

In 1562-63 Ghazi proceeded to Lar, and from there sent his son Ahmad with Fath Chak to the conquest of Ladakh. Fath Chak leaving Ahmad behind on the frontier, raided the country and returned safely. As the Ladakhis did not want to fight they sent tribute. But Ahmad became jealous of Fath Chak's exploit and decided to emulate him. And although he was dissuaded by him, he invaded Ladakh with only 500 men. But he was defeated by the Ladakhi troops and pursued. This made him so panic-stricken that he did

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was so angry that he refused to visit his father. Ghazi Shah felt hurt, and sent Haidar's uncle, Muhammad Malik, to remonstrate with him. Haidar got enraged and stabbed his uncle to death. Ghazi Shah, thereupon, caused Haidar to be hanged. His body was exhibited on the gibbet for eight days, and then thrown into the river.[45]

Ghazi Shah was a Shi'ite, but he allowed freedom of belief to persons of all religions. The author of the *Nawadiru'l-Akhbar* says that Ghazi Shah was intolerant, and because of this many Sunni chiefs like Nusrat Chak, Yusuf Chak, and Naji Malik proceeded to Kashghar and brought Qara Bahadur in order to overthrow him.[46] But there is no reliable evidence to support the view that the Kashmir nobles ever went to Kashghar. Moreover, when Qara was sent by Akbar to invade Kashmir, many of the Sunni nobles refused to help him and professed their loyalty to Ghazi Shah. Similarly it is wrong to say that rebellions in the latter's reign were due to religious differences. Their main cause was the scramble for power among the nobles. Neither from Haidar Malik's account nor from the *Baharistan-i-Shahi* does it appear that Ghazi Shah was a fanatical Shi 'ite.

Sultan Husain Shah (1563-70)

On ascending the throne Husain Shah was called upon to deal with a number of conspiracies and risings one after another. The first conspiracy against him was organised by Ghazi's son, Ahmad Khan, Muhammad

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advantage of opportunities. He began his career as a soldier under his father, Kaji Chak, at the age of eighteen. He fought in all his wars, and shared with him exile and all kinds of privations. After Kaji's death he served under other senior members of his family, and impressed the Chaks so much with his abilities that when they became dissatisfied with Daulat Chak they chose him as their leader. On assuming power Ghazi Chak suppressed the refractory chiefs and established law and order. But his most notable service to his country was that he successfully protected it from the Mughal invasions, which twenty years later, overwhelmed his successors. Ghazi Shah had a rough exterior, but he was a cultured man and composed verses in Persian.[42] He was generous to those who were loyal to him, but he showed no mercy to traitors, and inflicted cruel punishments on them. He was the first Sultan of Kashmir to have introduced the practice of blinding the political opponents and cutting off their limbs.[43] At the same time he was brave and admired brave men, and forgave them even if they were his enemies. Thus when Kuchak Bahadur, belonging to Qara Bahadur's army, was taken prisoner, having been seriously wounded by an arrow, Ghazi Shah spared his life, treated him with kindness, and made him over to the physicians.[44]

Ghazi Shah had a high sense of justice. Once a servant of his favourite son, Haidar Khan, while accompanying him, picked up a jujube from the ground. He observed this and had the hands of the servant cut off. When Haidar Khan heard of this, he

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Soon after, the Wazir Mubariz Khan hatched a plot against Husain Shah in collaboration with Lohar Chak. But the conspirators were seized and their hands and feet were cut off. Nusrat Chak, who was in prison, was blinded.[53]

After the fall of Mubariz Khan in 1567-68, Malik Luli succeeded him, but on the charge of embezzling 40,000 *kharwars* of paddy belonging to the government he was dismissed and in his place 'Ali Koka was appointed.[54] It was during 'Ali Koka's term of office that an incident took place which had far-reaching effects on the subsequent history of Kashmir.

One day, in 1568-69, Qazi Habib, a fanatical Sunni, while riding along in Srinagar, came across one Yusuf Aindar, an equally fanatical Shi 'ite. The Qazi vilified the Shi 'ites; Yusuf retorted by abusing the Qazi. Thereupon, Qazi Habib struck him with a whip. Yusuf retaliated by drawing his sword and wounding the Qazi, who fell from his horse. When 'Ali Koka, who was a staunch Sunni, heard of this he at once brought the matter to the notice of Husain Shah, and with his permission called a council of important 'Ulama like Qazi Musa, Mulla Yusuf Almas, and Mulla Firuz Gana'i. This body passed a decree condemning Yusuf to death.[55] The execution of Yusuf created great resentment among the Shi 'ite divines. Some of the Sunni 'Ulama also did not approve of the decision, contending that none of the Four Schools sanctioned death penalty for the offence committed by Yusuf.[56]

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Magre, and Nusrat Chak. But Husain Shah discovered it, and sent for the malcontents under the pretext of obtaining pledges of loyalty from them. When they came he had them seized and thrown into prison.[47]

In 1565, Husain Shah was faced with the revolt of his younger brother, Shankar Chak, who fled from Kashmir and began to create trouble in the Naushahra area by occupying villages and oppressing the peasants. Husain Shah thereupon sent Muhammad Naji and his younger brother 'Ali Khan Chak to Punch. They attacked Shankar and defeated him.[48] But soon after he again raised the banner of revolt. He was once more defeated by 'Ali Chak near Rajauri.[49]

In 1565-66, while Husain Shah had gone away shooting on the Vethnar lake,[50] Fath Khwaja Baqqal and his son, on whom the Sultan had conferred the titles of Khan-i-Zaman[51] and Bahadur Khan respectively, decided to seize power with the help of Fath Chak, Shams Duni, and other nobles. Their plan was to enter the palace, put to death their rivals, and secure the release of Ahmad Khan, Muhammad Magre, and Nusrat Chak. But Naji, who was in charge of the capital, came to know of the plot, and so, when the rebels entered the palace, they met with stiff resistance, and were finally repulsed. Fath Chak and Bahadur Khan were killed, while Khan-i-Zaman was taken prisoner. Meanwhile, Husain Shah saw from a distance the fire in the palace caused by the rebels. He immediately returned and ordered the limbs of Khan-i-Zaman and his accomplices to be cut off.[52]

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Emperor and his daughter to be married to Prince Salim.Meanwhile, 'Ali Koka had despatched some nobles and 'Ulama headed by Mulla 'Abdu'llah to the lmperial Court to complain to Akbar against Mirza Muqim. By misrepresenting the whole affair of Qazi Habib and Yusuf, they succeeded in stirring Akbar's anger to such a pitch that as soon as Mirza Muqim returned to Agra, he was at once put to death on the advice of Shaikh 'Abdu'n-Nabi and other 'Ulama. The Emperor also ordered the execution of Ya'qub, though he was an envoy, and sent back the presents and Husain Shah's daughter to Srinagar.[61]

Towards the end of his reign, while Husain Shah was seriously suffering from the cancer of the mouth, 'Ali Koka and Naji Malik advised him to set up one of his sons on the throne and imprison his brother 'Ali Khan along with Sayyid Mubarak. But before Husain Shah could act, 'Ali Khan, warned of the plan, fled to Sopur [Sopore] (HNR) where he was joined by Sayyid Mubarak and other disaffected chiefs. Then, having gathered a sufficient force, he marched on Srinagar and encamped at Fathyari. He repelled a night attack of the royalists, and the following morning entered the capital. As Husain Shah was not strong enough to offer resistance, he decided, on the advice of Naji Malik and 'Ali Koka, to abdicate, and sent the crown to 'Ali Khan through Baba Khalil.[62]

Husain Shah was by far the best ruler of the Chak dynasty. His rule, though efficient and strong,

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Even Qazi Habib was opposed to the infliction of such a punishment on the ground that he had not died of the wound.[57]

It was at this time that Akbar sent Mirza Muqim as his ambassador to Kashmir. Husain Shah sent his high officials to meet him at Hirapur, and then he himself came out of Srinagar to receive him.[58] As he was at the moment very perturbed by the controversy over the execution of Yusuf, he referred the matter to Mirza Muqim. The Mirza sent for all the prominent 'Ulama, including those who had condemned Yusuf to death. Everyone came except Qazi Musa, who fled from the city and hid himself. Qazi Zainu'l-'Abidin and Mulla Razi questioned Mulla Yusuf Almas and Mulla Firuz as to the justice of the penalty of death inflicted on Yusuf, when Qazi Habib had not been killed. They replied that they had given their verdict at the suggestion of Husain Shah, who wanted Yusuf's execution on account of political reasons and had sent them word through 'Ali Koka. But the Sultan denied having had anything to do with the affair, except that, instead of deciding the case himself, he had entrusted it to the Qazis. In the end, the Sunni and Shafi 'Ulama decreed the execution of Mulla Firuz and Mulla Yusuf Almas according to the Shi'ite law. Qazi 'Abdu'l-Ghafur, a Hanafite, and Qazi Zain'ud-Din, a Shi'ite, agreed with this judgement.[59]

Soon after Mirza Muqim left Kashmir, Husain Shah sent with him Ya'qub Mirza,[60] the son of Baba 'Ali, as his *wakil* with valuable presents for the

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small-pox.[69] This affected him so much that he became consumptive.[70] After his abdication some of the courtiers advised 'Ali Shah to imprison and blind him. But 'Ali Shah refused to listen to them and gave Husain Shah complete freedom of movement and the use of his treasure.[71] Husain Shah went to live in Zainapur, and there he died of fever after a year.[72]

Sultan 'Ali Shah (1570-78)

On his accession 'Ali Shah made Sayyid Mubarak Baihaqi, who had been for a long time his faithful friend, his Wazir. To strengthen further the bonds of friendship with him he gave his daughter in marriage to Mubarak's son, Sayyid Abu'l-Ma'ali.[73]

For about two years peace reigned in the kingdom. But at the end of 1571, 'Ali Khan Chak, son of Nauruz Chak, entered into league with some nobles in order to seize the throne. Warned of the plot, 'Ali Shah decided to execute him. But Sayyid Mubarak interceded on his behalf and sent him away to his home in Kamraj (Kamraz) (HNR). 'Ali Khan, however, did not stay there long. He fled to Lahore and sought the help of Husain Quli Khan, Akbar's governor of the Punjab.[74] When this news reached Srinagar, some of the courtiers who were jealous of Mubarak, made him responsible for 'Ali Chak's escape, and accused him of treason. Meanwhile 'Ali Chak, having failed to get on well with Husain Quli Khan, had fled to Mankot. A force was, thereupon, at once despatched against him by 'Ali

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was tempered with mildness and justice, so that his subjects called him *Nushiravan-i-'Adil* after the great Sasanid Emperor of Persia. He attended to their complaints, protected them from robbers and rapacious officials, and endeavoured to promote their prosperity.[63] He was of a generous disposition, and every day, after morning prayers, he distributed money to the poor and needy.[64] Though a Shi'ite, he allowed the practice of the Hanafite law, and appointed Sayyid Habib, a Sunni jurist from Khwarizm, as Qazi of Srinagar and Preacher of the Jami'Masjid.[65] His attitude towards his non-Muslim subjects was also very liberal. He granted them complete freedom to practice their religion and customs and to celebrate their festivals. In fact, in some of the festivals, like the Spring and Sripancami, he himself participated.[66] He was a man of cultured tastes. He was found of music, wrote verses in Persian,[67] and enjoyed the society of artists and scholars. He divided the day in the following manner: On Monday he attended court with the Qazis and Mir 'Adls. On Tuesday he went out hunting. Wednesday he spent with his army. Thursday he passed in the company of musicians and friends. On Friday he held discussions with the 'Ulama. Saturday was passed in the society of Hindu and Buddhist priests, and Sunday he spent with the Sufis.[68]

The last days of Husain Shah's reign were clouded with personal grief and public anxiety. First there was the affair of Yusuf Aindar and Qazi Habib which caused him endless worries. Then his brave and able son Ibrahim, whom he was very fond of, died of

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Khan.[78] They were living in exile in the Punjab, but having entered into correspondence with some Kashmiri chiefs who promised to help them, they set out towards the Valley in order to contest the throne. 'Ali Shah, learning that the pretenders had reached Naushahra and had been joined by their supporters, at once sent a force under his brother Lohar Chak and Muhammad Chak against them. When the army reached Thanna, Muhammad Chak took Lohar prisoner, and surrendered him to the enemy. On hearing this 'Ali Shah became greatly alarmed, and despite the fact that Naji Malik assured him that Muhammad was not a traitor, but a loyal servant, his fears were not dispelled. But events turned out as Naji had foreseen. Muhammad Khan, having lulled Haji Haidar and Salim into a false sense of security by surrendering Lohar, made a surprise attack on them at Singpur, while they were proceeding to Rajauri from Naushahra. Salim Khan was killed, but Haji Haidar succeeded in making good his escape to India. Muhammad Khan then secured Lohar Chak's release and with him returned to Srinagar.[79]

In 1572 'Ali Shah decided to reduce Kishtwar whose ruler Bahadur Singh had renounced his authority. Accordingly, he sent three armies, each under the command of Abdal Khan, and Nauruz Chak, to invade Kishtwar from three sides, while he himself encamped at Singapur.[80] Bahadur Singh, realizing that he would not be able to resist the Kashmiri forces,

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Shah. He was seized, brought to Srinagar, and thrown into prison. But after a year and a half he was released on presenting the Sultan one hundred gold *dinars*.[75]

In 1572-73 took place the revolt of Prince Yusuf Khan, 'Ali Shah's son and successor. As Aiba Khan, Ghazi Shah's son, was also a claimant to the throne, Yusuf's relations with him became inimical. Incited by Muhammad Bat he proceeded to Aiba Khan's house with his followers and assassinated him, and then out of fear of the Sultan he went away to Sopur [Sopore] (HNR), where he raised the banner of revolt. 'Ali Shah was very angry with Yusuf for causing Aiba Khan's death and organising a rising. He, therefore, sent a force under his brother Abdal Khan against him. Abdal was anxious to attack Yusuf and destroy him in order to clear the way for his own succession. But Sayyid Mubarak opposed this fratricidal war and brought about reconciliation between father and son. Muhammad Bat, however, was not forgiven, but was thrown into prison.[76]

Soon after this even Shams Duni and Muhammad Maraj, two nobles of Kashmir, began to create trouble in the country. But when 'Ali Shah sent an army against them, they got frightened and took refuge with Sayyid Mubārak. The latter interceded on their behalf with the Sultan who forgave them.[77]

In 983/1575-76 'Ali Shah was faced with a serious danger on account of the invasion of Kashmir by Nazuk Shah's sons, Haji Haidar Khan and Salim

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Ghazi Shah.[86] He was a liberal ruler and did not discriminate betweeen Shi'ites and Sunnis. He appointed Sayyid Mubarak, a Sunni, as his Wazir and held the Sufis like Hamza Makhdum and his two disciples, Baba Da'ud Gana'i and Baba Rishi Harvi in great respect. Shaikh Ya'qub Sarfi and Khwaja Muhammad Rafiq were also respected by him[87]. He was fond of playing polo every morning and afternoon. But one day, early in 1579, during a game, he was mortally injured. He returned to the palace and, realizing that his end was near, he crowned his eldest son, Yusuf Khan, as Sultan.[88]

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decided to come to terms. He acknowledged 'Ali Shah as his suzerain, agreed to pay tribute, and presented the wife of one of his relations with whom the Sultan was in love. 'Ali Shah married her and named her Fath Khatun.[81] But as Bahadur Singh did not pay his tribute, 'Ali Shah, in 1574, again sent a force under Isma'il Gana'i against him. But as before Bahadur Singh agreed to come to terms. He promised to pay his tribute regularly in future, and sent his sister Sankar Devi to be married to 'Ali Shah's grandson, Ya'qub.[82]

On about July 3, 1578,[83] Akbar, from the neighbourhood of Kalanaur, sent Mulla 'Ishqi and Qazi Sadru'd-Din as amabassadors to Kashmir ostensibly with the object of proposing a marriage between Prince Salim and Husain Shah's daughter, but in reality to find out if the conditions were favourable for a Mughal invasion of the country. 'Ali Shah accepted the proposal and sent his *wakil* Muhammad Qasim with his niece and presents of shawls, musk, and saffron to the imperial court. He also had the *khutba* recited and the coins struck in the name of Akbar.[84]

'Ali Shah was an able and just ruler, and looked after the welfare of the peasants. When the *rabi'* crops failed in 1578 owing to the heavy fall of snow and caused famine in the country, he brought out his treasure, and distributed it freely among the poor and needy.[85] He was kind and of a humane disposition, and forgave even those who took up arms against him. He discontinued the practice of the blinding and cutting of limbs of political opponents prevalent since the time of

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12. *Ibid.*, ff. 120a-21b.

13. *Ibid,*, ff. 120b-21a.

14. T.A., iii, 481, and trans. P. 727n. 1.

15. H.M., ff. 151a-b.

16. *Ibid.*, f. 152b; B.S., f. 122a. The date assigned to this event in H.M. (I.O) as 961 A.H. is wrong. H.M. (B.N.), f. 51a, and B.S. give the year 962/1555. T.A. agrees with them.

17. H.M., f. 153b.

18. B.S., f. 122b.

19. *Ibid.*, f. 123a; H.M., ff. 155a-56b.

20. B.S., f. 123a. See also T.A., iii, 485,where the account is given with slight variation.

21. B.S., f. 123a.

22. For Abu'l-Ma'ali's career see A.N., ii, 154-56; M.T., ii, 2-6; and T.A., ii. 127 sqq.

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24. A.N., ii, pp. 154-5. H.M. wrongly places the invasion of Abu'l-Ma'ali before the rebellion of the nobles. The date of the invasion assigned by B.S., T.A., and M.T., is 965/1558.

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1. H.M., f. 150a.

2. T.A., iii, p. 476.

3. *Ta'rikh-i-Da'udi*, ff. 196a-b; T.A., iii, 478-9; also *Ta'rikh-i-Khan-i-Jahani*, f. 109b and B.S., f. 117b. *Tar'rikh-i-Da'udi* wrongly states that it was Mirza Hāidar who sent the Kashmiri chiefs against the Niyazis. M.T., i, 500, however, does not refer to Mirza Haidar in this connection.

4. T.A., iii, 478.

5. B.S., f. 117b.

6. B.S., f. 118b gives the year 958 but it should be 959/1552. (See J.R.A.S., 1918, p. 462).

7. B.S., f. 118a.

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9. H.M., f. 151b; N.K., f. 35b. The statement in B.S., f. 118a, that 'Idi Raina, having fallen ill on the way, returned to Srinagar where he died, appears to be apocryphal.

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11. B.S., f. 121 b.

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12. *Ibid.*, ff. 120a-21b.

13. *Ibid.*, ff. 120b-21a.

14. T.A., iii, 481, and trans. P. 727n. 1.

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11. B.S., f. 121 b.

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12. *Ibid.*, ff. 120a-21b.

13. *Ibid*,, ff. 120b-21a.

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11. B.S., f. 121 b.

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12. *Ibid.*, ff. 120a-21b.

13. *Ibid.*, ff. 120b-21a.

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REFRENCES

1. H.M., f. 150a.

2. T.A., iii, p. 476.

3. *Ta'rikh-i-Da'udi*, ff. 196a-b; T.A., iii, 478-9; also *Ta'rikh-i-Khan-i-Jahani*, f. 109b and B.S., f. 117b. *Tar'rikh-i-Da'udi* wrongly states that it was Mirza Hāidar who sent the Kashmiri chiefs against the Niyazis. M.T., i, 500, however, does not refer to Mirza Haidar in this connection.

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5. B.S., f. 117b.

6. B.S., f. 118b gives the year 958 but it should be 959/1552. (See J.R.A.S., 1918, p. 462).

7. B.S., f. 118a.

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9. H.M., f. 151b; N.K., f. 35b. The statement in B.S., f. 118a, that 'Idi Raina, having fallen ill on the way, returned to Srinagar where he died, appears to be apocryphal.

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11. B.S., f. 121 b.

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12. *Ibid.*, ff. 120a-21b.

13. *Ibid*,, ff. 120b-21a.

14. T.A., iii, 481, and trans. P. 727n. 1.

15. H.M., ff. 151a-b.

16. *Ibid.*, f. 152b; B.S., f. 122a. The date assigned to this event in H.M. (I.O) as 961 A.H. is wrong. H.M. (B.N.), f. 51a, and B.S. give the year 962/1555. T.A. agrees with them.

17. H.M., f. 153b.

18. B.S., f. 122b.

19. *Ibid.*, f. 123a; H.M., ff. 155a-56b.

20. B.S., f. 123a. See also T.A., iii, 485,where the account is given with slight variation.

21. B.S., f. 123a.

22. For Abu'l-Ma'ali's career see A.N., ii, 154-56; M.T., ii, 2-6; and T.A., ii. 127 sqq.

23. T.A., iii, 486; A.N., ii, 153-4; M.T., ii, p. 10, is wrong in saying that Abu'l-Ma'ali was treated with honour by Kamal Khan, and the two set out to conquer Kashmir. Kamal Khan was loyal to Akbar and so could not have welcomed Abu'l-Ma'ali. See A.A. (Blochmann), pp. 507-8; T.A., ii, 161; and *Ma'asiru'l-Umara'*, ii, 144 sq. for Kamal Khan's relations with Akbar.

24. A.N., ii, pp. 154-5. H.M. wrongly places the invasion of Abu'l-Ma'ali before the rebellion of the nobles. The date of the invasion assigned by B.S., T.A., and M.T., is 965/1558.

Patan is a large village in Lat. 34° 10′, distant 17 miles north-west of Srinagar on the high road between Srinagar and Baramula.

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11. B.S., f. 121 b.

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36. T.A., ii, 488-89.

37. *Ibid.*, 489-90.

38. B.S., ff. 125a-b; H.M., ff. 158a-b.

39. T.A., iii, 490-1.

40. *Ibid.*, iii, 493.

41. Ghazi Chak was 18 years of age in 1527 when Babur's troops invaded Kashmir in 1527. (See p. 120, *supra*). He was thus 58 years of age at the time of his death in 1567.

42. Suka, p. 383; T.H., ii, f. 136b.

43. B.S., f. 124b.

44. A.N., ii, 199.

45. H.M., ff. 157b-58a.

46. N.A., f. 78b.

47. B.S., ff. 125a-26b; T.A. iii, 491-2.

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49. *Ibid.*, iii, 492. In the trans of T.A., iii p. 724, Ali Khan is wrongly referred to as 'Alam Khan.

50. A lake lying on the left bank of the Jehlam, about 5 miles south-east of Srinagar .

51. From B.S., f. 126b it appears that Khan-i -Zaman was the Wazir.

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25. Hanjivera is a large village in Lat. 34° 8′ Long. 74° 38′, 2 miles east of Patan on the road towards Srinagar.

26. H.M., ff. 154a-55a. A.N. and T.A. say that Abu'l-Ma'ali's life was saved by a Mughal.

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29. Suka, p. 384 says that Nazuk Shah also joined Qara Bahadur. But he wrongly calls the latter as the son of Humayun.

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31. B.S., ff. 124a-b; A.N., ii, 197-8; T.A., iii 488.

32. H.M., f. 157a; also Suka, pp. 384-6.

33. T.A., iii, 482-83.

34. B.S., f. 125a; T.A., iii, 483. According to H.M., f. 151b, it was Daulat Chak who had enthroned Habib Chak. Suka's account is confused and unreliable.

35. B.S., f. 125a; H.M., f. 153b. See T.A. for dates which, I think, are reliable. According to N.A., f. 76b, one day in the court, 'Ali Khan, Ghazi's younger brother, removed the crown from Habib's head and placed it on Ghazi's. Habib Shah was imprisoned. From an inscription outside the walls of the Mazar-i-Salatin it appears that he died in 1573.

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67. W.K., f. 52b.

68. H.M., f. 159b.

69. B.S., f. 128a; H.M., f. 165a.

70. H.M., f165a.

71. B.S., ff. 133b-34a; Suka, p. 393. According to B.S. It was Sayyid Mubarak who advised Husain Shah not to blind his brother.

72. Suka, p. 393, says Husain Shah died of epilepsy, but this is not supported by other authorities. The Sultan was consumptive, and probably died of fever.

73. B.S., f. 133a.

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79. *H.M.*, ff. 165b-66b; also T.A., iii, 499-500.

80. *It* is a small village in Lat. 33° 28′ Long. 75° 37′, situated above the left bank of the Kasher Khol stream on the Kishtwar side of the Marbal Pass.

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52. *Ibid.*, ff. 126a-b; T.A., iii, 429. H.M. says Khan-i-Zaman was only reprimanded.

53. B.S., ff. 126b..

54. T.A., iii, 493-4.

55. B.S., ff.127a-b; T.A. iii, 494.

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57. T.A., iii, 494.

58. *Ibid;* B.S., f. 128a.

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63. *Ibid.,I* f. 125b; H.M., f. 158b; Suka, pp. 391-2.

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CHAPTE IX

YUSUF SHAH AND AKBAR

On 'Ali shah's death his brother Abdal Chak decided to contest the throne.

Sayyid Mubarak, however, tried to avert hostilities, and, with the consent of Yusuf Shah, sent Baba Khalil, Shite divine, to Abdal, requesting him to give up all thoughts of war and to come and participate in the burial ceremonies of Ali Shah. But as Abdal did not trust Yusuf on account of his part in the assassination of Aiba Khan, he refused to go. Thereupon, Sayyid Mubarak himself went to Abdal accompanied by Muhammad Bat and Baba Khalil. On behalf of Yusuf and on their own behalf they gave a pledge to Abdal guaranteeing his personal safety if he attended the funeral ceremonies. They also pleaded with him to give up the idea of contesting the throne, for Yusuf had better claim to it than anyone else. [1] but their requests fell on deaf ears. Having thus failed in their mission, They returned and advised Yusuf to immediately attack Abdal. Yusuf, accordingly, organised an army with the advance-guard under Muhammad Khan, the centre under Sayyid Mubarak, and the rear under himself. Hearing of this Abdal moved out to Nauhatta, and there encountered Muhammad Khan. Although he was wounded by a bullet he kept on fighting. Meanwhile, Mubarak came up to the help of Muhammad Khan with over 2,000 horse. After a heavy engagement Abdal was killed by Sayyid Mubarak.[2] This demoralised his followers. hams Chak and Habib Chak escaped.[3] Sayyid Jalal, son of

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REFERENCE

81. *H.*M., f. 167a. According to T.A., iii, 498, she was Bahadur Singh's daughter.

82. H.M., ff. 167a-b; J.P.H.S., iv, 37.

83. A.N., iii, 356; Elliot, v, 411; Badauni, ii, 276. The date 980| 1572-3 as given by Firishta and T.A., is incorrect.

84. W.K., f. 53a; T.A., iii, 498-99. T.A is wrong in stating that the lady sent was 'Ali Shah's nephew's daughter.

85. H.M., ff. 87a-88; A.A. (Blochmann), p.651 and n.2.

86. H.M., ff. 168b-69a; B.S., ff. 137b-38a.

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inexperienced. Despite this Yusuf sent of force under Muhammad Khan to the 'Id-gah where the rebels had assembled, while he himself proceeded to the filed of Zialdakar (Zialdagar).[10] Muhammad Khan crossed the bridge of Naukadal and attacked the enemy. But after hard fighting in which both sides lost 300 men, he was killed. This spread panic among his followers who fled . Some escaped and joined Yusuf in the filed of Zialdakar (Zialdakar), while others went over to the enemy.[11] According to the *Bharistan-I* Shahi Yusuf Shah's Position was so precarious at this time that, if Mubarak had attacked him as advised by some of his supporter, he would have easily seized him. But Mubarak refrained from this step. In fact, when Yusuf sent him Mulla Hassan Aswad 'Ali Shah's tutor, to ask forgiveness for his previous mistakes, he forgave him and advised him to leave Kashmir, assuring him that he would be recalled after a few months.[12] Yusuf shah, therefore, went away to Thanna.[13] But this account is very partial to Mubarak, for as his subsequent attitude toward Yusuf Shah Shows, he could not have played the magnanimous role assigned to him by the author of the *Baharistan-i-Shahi.* In reality Yusuf left for Thanna because his forces had been defeated and he found further resistance to be useless.

Mubarak, who now replaced Yusuf Shah as Sultan, led a very simple life, being averse to all pomp and show. he sold off the crown and the royal parasol (*chatr),* which were studded with precious stones, and distributed the money among the poor and the soldiers.[14]. He was just and generous, and though a

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Sayyid Mubarak, lost his life while pursuing them. Yusuf Shah, who was in the rear with a small force, came up to the battle-filed after the fighting was over and forbade the burial of Abdal's body. But Qazi Musa, the Qazi of Sopur [Sopore], defied the order, and buried it in the ancestral graveyard the same day. The next day Yusuf Shah, after performing the last rites in connection with his father's death, proclaimed himself Sultan.[4]

Yusuf Shah had been in power only for two months [5] when he was faced with a serious revolt which brought about his abdication. The leader of the uprising was Abdal Bat who had become alienated because instead of him Muhammad Bat had been made Wazir.[6] He won over the nobles who were dissatisfied with Yusuf Shah for spending his time in the society of women and singers and neglecting the administration of the country.[7] He then decided to depose Yusuf and enthrone Mubarak in his place. The latter at first refused to take up arms against Yusuf, and tried to reconcile the two groups through the good offices of Baba Khalil. But having failed in the attempt, owing to the intransigence of Yusuf, who refused to forgive his opponents, Mubarak agreed to join the rebels.[8] At this time Naji Malik advised Yusuf to open his treasury, and distribute it among the people who would rally to his support . But Yusuf did not follow the advice.[9] Naji also suggested to Yusuf that he should himself march against the rebels instead of entrusting the command to Muhammad Khan who was young and

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invade the Valley and had thus been responsible for causing to much chaos. On the other hand he told the Chak nobles that it was by Mubarak's order that 'Ali Chak had been imprisoned, and warned them that their lives too were in danger. In this way Abdal Bat tried to incite the rival parties against each other.[18] Deceived by this machinations, the Chak nobles again invited Yusuf to return, and meanwhile they prepared for a revolt. Hearing of this Mubark, although ill, marched to the 'Id-gah and sent a challenge to Abdal for a personal combat. Abdal knew that he was no match for Mubarak in personal valour and so he decided upon a ruse. He sent Baba Khalil to him with a message that the Chak nobles were anxious for peace, but were driven into hostility because of 'Ali chak's imprisonment, and suggested negotiations in the hospice of Baba Khalil. Mubarak was beguiled by these words, and, having released 'Ali Chak, proceeded to the hospice.[19] There the Chak nobles, who had gathered in large numbers on the occasion,[20] compelled him to abdicate, and in his place set up Lohar Chak, son of Shankar Chak, on the throne, with Abdal Bat as Wazir. The latter in order to consolidate his position at once threw 'Ali Chak and his son Yusuf into prison, and sent word to Yusuf Shah not to come to Srinagar.[21] Yusuf Shah was disgusted with the insincerity of the Kashmiri nobles, and so decided to invoke the aid of Emperor Akbar. He proceeded to Lahore to Raja Man Singh and Mirza Yusuf Khan , who took him to Agra, and there in January 1580 he was presented to Emperor.[22].

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good soldier, he was a man of peace, and only in the last resort unsheathed his sword. He detested the shedding of blood, and, as we have seen, always advised 'Ali Shah and Yusuf Shah to forgive the malcontents

The nobles had set up Mubarak in order to rule in his name. But when they found that he would not allow himself to be dominated by others, they turned against him and invited Yusuf Shah to return to Kashmir.[15] Assured of their support, Yusuf left Thanna, but when he reached the village of Barbal, he received proposals of peace from Mubarak through Da'ud Mir. He, therefore, sent his sons, Ya'qub and Ibrahim to Mubarak, accompanied by Da'ud Mir And Mulla Hassan Aswad, and then he himself got ready to meet him. Meanwhile Abdal Bat, the leader of the faction against Mubarak, became alarmed at these developments and sent Yusuf a message, warning him against trusting Mubarak's words or meeting him. Yusuf believed Abdal and broke off the talks.[16] However, when he was attacked by Mubarak the Chak nobles, despite their promises, did not come forward to help him. The result was that he was defeated, and had to return to Thanna via Barbal.[17]

Abdal had foiled the peace negotiations between Yusuf and Mubarak. But as the latter was still in power, he made another plan to bring about his overthrow. On the one hand he had 'Ali Khan, son of Nauruz Chak, treacherously seized and imprisoned by telling Mubarak that it was he who had invited Yusuf Shah to

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many other chiefs fled and joined Yusuf Shah at Thanna.[30]

Lohar had stationed Haidar Chak at Hirapur with a large force, thinking that Yusuf Shah would follow the Pir Panjal route. But Yusuf Shah left behind a small force to conceal his movement, and with the rest of his army moved towards Punch and entered Kashmir through the Toshamaidan pass.[31] He defeated Lohar's forces at Chira Har and again at Sopur [Sopore]. He then crossed the Jehlam, and after destroying the Sopur [Sopore] bridge, occupied the surrounding country.[32] When Lohar heard the news of the defeats of his armies and the desertion of his officers, he became extremely anxious. He, therefore, on Abdal's advice, released 'Ali Chak from prison in order to secure his help in the war against Yusuf Shah.[33] He then recalled Haidar Chak from Hirapur to Srinagar, and having collected his forces from all sides, set out with a large army towards Sopur [Sopore].[34] But finding that the Sopur [Sopore] Bridge had been destroyed, he tried to cross the river by means of boats. However, owing to the resistance of the enemy from the other bank he was not successful. He therefore, detached a force of 2,000 men under Haidar Chak by the route of Khuyahom to attack Yusuf Shah from the rear, while he himself stayed behind to watch the movements of the nemy.[35] Meanwhile, he sent a message to Yusuf Shah through Baba Khalil that, since he would soon be attacked both from the front and from the rear and defeated, he should leave Kashmir in return for which he would be given the jagir of Dachun-Khovur.[36] Yusuf Shah for a moment became

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Akbar received Yusuf Shah cordially, and deputed Raja Man Singh and Mirza Yusuf Khan to help him in the recovery of his throne.[23] Accordingly, in the month of August, 1580, Yusuf Shah proceeded to Lahore with them. When Muhammad Bat, his former Wazir, got this news he left his force of one thousand men at Buhlulpur and joined him at Lahore. There it was decided not to employ the Mughal troops who would be unpopular in the country, and who, after its conquest, would take over the administration and enforce their own laws.[24] Yusuf Shah, therefore, borrowed some money from the merchants of Lahore and with about 800 men, whom he enlisted there, he marched towards Buhlulpur under the pretext that he was going to find out the conditions existing in Kashmir.[25] At Buhlulpur he managed to raise another body of 3,000 men with the help of some Kashmiri nobles and then set out to Bhimbhar. After defeating Yusuf Dar,[26] who was posted at Naushahra by Lohar Chak, Yusuf Shah advanced on Rajauri. Its ruler, Rai Bahadur, seeing how Yusuf Dar had fled, submitted to him. He was received with honour and made commander of the vanguard of the army.[27] Yusuf Shah then moved to Thanna. Lohar Chak now sent Yusuf Khan, the son of Husain Shah Chak, and Nazuk Bat, the son of Abdal Bat, against Yusuf Shah. On reaching the village of Sidau,[28] Yusuf Khan, having seized Nazuk Bat, handed him over to Yusuf Shah, and himself entered his service.[29] Owing to the defection of Yusuf Khan, Lohar Chak's army became demoralized and began to disintegrate. Shams Duni, Malik Hasan and

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occasion they had betrayed him. Under the circumstance pardon was out of the question. Lohar Shah, his brother, Muhammad Khan, and Hasan Chak were blinded. [46] Some had their limbs amputated while others were executed. 'Ali Khan Chak and his son Yusuf Khan were, however, imprisoned. But a general amnesty was given to the common soldiers and villagers who had joined Lohar Chak[47].

Haidar Chak and Shams Chak Kopwara[48] had fled to Karnav after Lohar chases defat. Headar chak had pointed out to Shams chak that it would be dangerous for them to stay there long, as Yusuf Shah would soon send a strong army which they would not be able to resist. But Shams Chak did not accept this advice and stayed on. Haidar, however, separated from him and proceeded to Ladakh[49].

As Haidar had foreseen, Yusuf Shah ordered Lohar Malik Qorchi to March against Shams Chak. Learning of this, Shams left Karnav[50] and occupied the fort of Firuz near Pakhli[51]. But as he had antagonised the garrison by his cruelties, the commandant sent a message to Lohar to come immediately and seize Shams. Lohar made a rapid march, and arrived before the fort. Shams Chak was surrendered and taken to Yusuf Shah, who had him blinded.[52]

Early in 1581, Shams Chak, son of Daulat Chak, 'Alam Sher Magre, and other nobles began to make plans for the overthrow of Yusuf Shah. Informed of this, the latter threw the conspirators in prison. Alarmed

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nervous because of the numerical inferiority of his forces, but encouraged by Hasan Malik, who assured him of victory, he rejected Lohar''s overtures.[37] And in the early morning of November 8, 1580[38], he crossed the Jehlam in order to make a surprise attack on the enemy. A force of over 2,000 men under 'Ali Bat tried to prevent the crossing, but was beaten back[39]. Yusuf Shah's army then proceeded to attack Abdal Bat. As the flower of Lohar Chak's force had been sent away under Haidar Chak, Abdal was at a disadvantage[40]. After a severe fight he was defeated and killed. Lohar retreated and made a final stand at the village of Brathana[41]. But having again suffered a reverse, he fled to Srinagar. Yusuf Shah at once marched on the capital, which he entered without any opposition[42]. Hearing of Lohar's defeat, the forces under Haidar Chak became demoralized, and dispersed. Haidar Chak himself escaped by way of Chira Har[43].

On occupying Srinagar Yusuf Shah entrusted Muhammad Bat with the duties, prime minister, and ordered a search to be made for Lohar Chak and his followers. Lohar was discovered concealed in the house of Qazi Musa, Qazi of Sopur [Sopore]; Lohar's brother Muhammad, was seized in Baramula, and Hasan Chak was captured in Mamosa[44]. In the Pargana of Bangil. Besides these many other chiefs were also seized, and they were brought before Yusuf Shah[45]. He accused them of having joined Lohar Chak in spite of the fact that both he and his father had treated them kindly and bestowed favours on them. He pointed out that several times they had called him to Kashmir, yet on each

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Kishtwar. He was, however, brought back by Mulla Hasan Aswad deputed for the purpose by Yusuf Shah. But Aiba Khan remained with Haidar Chak.[59] Another important person to join Haidar Chak at this time was Shams Chak who had escaped from prison while Yusuf Shah was away in Lar.[60]

These defections greatly alarmed Yusuf Shah, and so in 1582 he despatched Sher 'Ali Bat and Naji Malik with a large force against Haidar Chak in Kishtwar. But Sher 'Ali was killed and Naji Malik captured in a night attack by Haidar Chak.[61] Thereupon, Yusuf shah himself advanced with his son Ya'qub, who was entrusted with the command of the advanceguard, to crush the rebels. As the latter were in a defile occupying a strategic position, Ya'qub's forces, which encountered them, suffered reverse and fled to join the main army. However Ya'qub rallied them and, after a severe engagement, defeated Haidar Chak who fled together with Shams Chak and Aiba Khan. Yusuf came up to the battle-field after the victory had been won. He rewarded Ibrahim and Abu'l-Ma'ali, the sons of Sayyid Mubarak, with *khil'ats* and jagirs for the courage they had displayed in the battle.[62]

This defeat convinced Shams Chak and Aiba Khan of the futility of resistance, and so they opened negotiations with Yusuf Shah who, on the mediation of the Raja of Kishtwar, pardoned them and gave them jagirs.[63] Haidar Chak, however, refused to surrender, and leaving Kishtwar, proceeded to Lahore, where he received the protection of Raja Man Singh, and was

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at these developments, Habib Khan fled to the hills and was joined by Haidar Chak. Yusuf Khan, who was in prison, succeeded in escaping and joining the rebels.[53] They then approached the ruler of Ladakh named Jamyang Namgyal (1560-90),[54] and secured from him the aid of about 4,000 horse. When Yusuf Shah heard of this he sent an army against them. As there was no unity among the rebel chiefs, they failed to put up any resistance. They were seized with panic and dispersed. The Ladakhi forces also withdrew. Haidar Chak went away to Kishtwar, while Habib Chak, finding his way blocked on all sides by the royal forces, secretly returned to Srinagar, and began to foment trouble there.[55] but he was seized in the village of Sonawar.[56] Yusuf Khan was captured with his brothers in the Bring pargana. Yusuf Shah ordered Habib Chak to be blinded, while Yusuf Khan and his brothers had their limbs cut off.[57]

Soon after these events, Yusuf Shah had to deal with the revolt led by his chief minister, Muhammad Bat. The latter wanted to punish Shams Duni because of some personal grudge; but since Yusuf Shah opposed him, he decided to assassinate him with the help of Yusuf Khan. But as the plot was discovered. Muhammad Bat fled. He was pursued by Yusuf Shah who seized him and some of his followers. But the rest escaped to swell the forces of Haidar Chak in Kishtwar.[58]

Meanwhile Prince Ya'qub, who was only a youth, came under the influence of the malcontents and escaped with Aiba Khan, son of Abdal Bat, to

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once proceed to Fathpur Sikri, otherwise an army would be sent against him.[70] Shortly after Timur Beg was despatched by Raja Man Singh as Mughal ambassador to Kashmir, carrying the same order. Yusuf Shah got frightened by these repeated summons, and so, when Timur Beg took leave of departure from Srinagar, he sent with him his eldest son Prince Ya'qub and the choicest articles of Kashmir to Akbar.[71] Ya'qub arrived in Fathpur Sikri and was presented to the Emperor on February 9, 1585.[72] But instead of expressing his approval, Akbar was displeased and complained that, although he had twice ordered Yusuf Shah to appear at court, he had not come. Yusuf Shah had at first sent his third son Haidar, a mere boy, who was unfit for military service, and had then deputed Ya'qub, who was both mad and wicked. He had been spending his time in ease and luxury ever since he had recovered his throne, and had not given any proofs of his loyalty to the Emperor.[73]

Akbar had always regarded Kashmir as part of the Mughal Empire. This was probably because it had been conquered by Mirza Haidar Dughlat on behalf of Humayun. Although Mirza Haidar had been overthrown, the Mughal title to the Valley had not been allowed to lapse. In 1560, as we have seen, Akbar sent Qara Bahadur against Ghazi Chak in order to "uproot that tyrant" whose injustices had been brought to the notice of the Emperor.[74] But Qara Bahadur's invasion of the Valley ended in a fiasco. Despite this, the Chak Sultans continued to send occasionally to the Emperor rich gifts, which were looked upon by him as tribute

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assigned the jagirs of Bhimbhar and Naushahra.[64] When Yusuf Shah learnt of this he sent Khwaja Qasim, the grandson of Khwaja Haji, to counteract the intrigues of Haidar Chak. But Khwaja Qasim returned unsuccessful to Srinagar. Raja Man Singh, being angry with Yusuf Shah for not having employed the Mughal troops in the recovery of his throne, wanted to use Haidar Chak as a pawn to promote the imperial interests in Kashmir.[65]

Towards the end of 1581, Akbar, on his return from Kabul, sent from Jalalabad Mirza Tahir and Salih 'Aqil as ambassadors to Kashmir. They were received by Yusuf Shah at Baramula with every mark of respect, and then brought to Srinagar.[66] They delivered to him an imperial command that he had not kept the Mughal court informed of the conditions in Kashmir, and that if there was no internal trouble he should immediately proceed to do personal homage to the Emperor.[67] when Yusuf Shah discussed this order with his ministers, they advised him that, since Akbar appeared to be anxious to annex Kashmir, he should prepare for resistance, give up the life of ease and luxury which he was leading, and strengthen the frontier forts.[68] But Yusuf Shah paid no heed to these words, and instead tried to placate the Emperor by sending him costly presents and his third son Haidar Khan with Mirza Tahir and Salih 'Aqil, who shortly after left Srinagar.[69] But these professions of loyalty failed to satisfy Akbar, who insisted that Yusuf Shah should himself come to court. After a year, therefore, he sent back Prince Haidar with Shaikh Ya'qub Sarfi with a *farman* that Yusuf Shah should at

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the Emperor was in the Punjab, he should at once come to pay his homage.[77]

Yusuf Shah had been receiving reports form his son Ya'qub, who was at the Mughal court,[78] about the Emperor's plans with regard to Kashmir. They had caused him considerable anxiety. But when he came to know that Akbar had despatched two envoys, he completely lost his nerves and consulted his counsellors. They begged him, as before, to pay more attention to public affairs, to organise his army, and be ready to defend his country against a Mughal invasion[79]. But Yusuf Shah was opposed to resisting them Mughals. He argued that Akbar's army was too numerous and strong to be fought successfully, and that it could overrun the whole of the Valley in a few days' time. Moreover, Prince Ya'qub was with Akbar who, if displeased, might order his execution. Under these circumstances it would be better if he should himself proceed to Lahore, and by submitting to the Emperor save his country from an invasion.[80] But the nobles and high officials warned him against following such a course, pointing out that, if he left Kashmir, he would never again get back his throne. At this time there was a general upsurge in the country, and everyone, rich and poor, old and young, was ready to fight against the invaders to the last man, and they appealed to Yusuf Shah to remain in Kashmir.[81] But their appeals fell on deaf ears, for Yusuf Shah had lost the will to resist and had made up his mind to wait on Akbar.

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and recognition of his suzerainty.[75] Moreover, in 1580, Yusuf Shah, who had been driven out of his kingdom, was given assistance by Akbar to recover his throne; and although by his own efforts, yet the very fact that a Mughal force the help was not employed , and Yusuf Shah regalined his kingdom had been placed at his disposal was sufficient justification for the Emperor to regard him as his vassal. But such a view was not held by Yusuf Shah, and that is why he had repeatedly evaded Akbar's summons to court. However, in order not to antagonise the Emperor, he had sent him valuable presents and his sons to represent him at the imperial court. Akbar resented his attitude, and would have like to send an army for the conquest of the Valley, but his hands were too full with the affairs of Hindustan. It was not until about 1585 that he found himself sufficiently free to adopt a more active policy towards Kashmir. He knew that there was disunity in the country which he could exploit to his own advantage. Moreover, Mirza Haidar had shown that, although the Valley was surrounded by huge mountain barriers, its conquest was not difficult.

On August 22, 1585, Akbar left Fathpur Sikri in order to effect the settlement of the province of Kabul, as his half-brother Mirza Muhammad Hakim had died and there was a danger of an Uzbeg invasion.[76] When he reached Kalanaur on the 1st October, he deputed Hakim 'Ali Gilani and Baha'u'd-Din Kambu to proceed to Srinagar and bring Yusuf Shah with them. They were to tell the Kashmir Sultan that he had until now made distance a pretext for not coming to court; but now that

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owing to the hostile attitude of the Kashmiri people who would not let Yusuf Shah go with them. They, therefore, took their leave, and joined the imperial camp at Hasan Abdal on December 13, 1585.[90]

When Akbar heard of their report his anger was aroused, and on December 20, 1585, from the neighbourhood of Attock, he despatched an army of about 5,000 horse under Mirza Shah Rukh, Raja Bhagwan Das, and Shah Quli Mahram to invade Kashmir, and deputed Haidar Chak and Shaikh Ya'qub Sarfi to act as guides.[91] The Mughal commanders wanted to undertake the invasion early in spring when the passes would be clear of snow. Moreover, they preferred the Bhimbhar route partly because it was easier, and partly because the chiefs along that route were favourably disposed towards the Mughals. Akbar was, however, opposed to any delay and ordered them to immediately march *via* Pakhli, pointing out that since the Kashmiris did not expect any invasion from that direction at that time of the year, the passes would not be well-guarded. The Emperor's forecast proved to be correct, for, when the Mughal force advanced, it practically met with no resistance and easily entered Kashmir.[92]

When this news reached Srinagar, the people came to Yusuf Shah and reminded him of the sufferings, which the Kashmiris had endured at the hands of the Kashgharians, and how his ancestors had delivered the country from their oppression. He should also, they urged, prepare to resist the enemy in the

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While these discussions were in progress, Ya'qub suddenly appeared in Srinagar. On account of the disrespect shown to him by Akbar.[82] and the petty allowance of thirty or forty rupees which he had received for his expenses,[83] he had been very unhappy at the Mughal court. Moreover, having despaired of Yusuf Shah's appearance at court, he had become alarmed for his own safety. He had, therefore, when the imperial camp had reached Khawaspur, secretly escaped from the custody of his guards.[84] He had proceeded towards Naushahra. But finding that it was in the hands of Haidar Chak, he had skirted the town on his right, and taken another route to Rajauri. He had then entered Kashmir and had reached Srinagar before Hakim 'Ali, Yusuf Shah was very angry with Ya'qub for having come away without the Emperor's permission and wanted to imprison him, but was dissuaded by his ministers.[85]

Shortly after Yusuf Shah heard of the arrival of the Mughal envoys in Kashmir. He went to receive them at Khampur, and gave them a warm welcome.[86] He promised to accompany them, and send back Ya'qub to the imperial court with his hands and feet bound.[87]However, owing to the opposition from the public, the nobles, and the army his plans were checkmated.[88] In fact, he was even threatened that if he attempted to leave Kashmir, they would kill him and set up Ya'qub in his place.[89]

Hakim 'Ali and Baha'u'd-Din remained for two months in Srinagar, but did not succeed in their mission

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continue resistance. Yusuf Shah should, therefore, proceed with the Raja to the Emperor's presence.[100] Yusuf Shah held talks with the envoys the whole night, and finally entered into an understanding with them[101] Early next morning, under the pretext that he was going to inspect the troops, he left the Kuarmast Pass, and went to the village of Barzala.[102] After cheering up the inhabitants and the soldiers there, he proceeded to Buliasa where he inspected the army, and was told by the Mir Bakhshi that it consisted of 15,000 horse, 25,000 foot and 7,000 musketeers. He then with a few horsemen escaped to the Mughal camp, which he joined on February 14, 1586.[103]

Although the Kashmiris had been betrayed by their ruler, their spirit was not broken. In place of Yusuf Shah they set up Ya'qub as their Sultan and resumed the struggle against the invaders.[104] The Mughals suffered great hardships on account of snow, cold, rain, and scarcity of food. Taking advantage of this Baba Talib Isfahani, Muhammad Salim Kashghari, and other Kashmiri commanders inflicted great loss upon them. Realising the terrible state of his army and also affected by the news of Zain Khan's defeat in the North-Western Frontier, Raja Bhagwan Das made peace overtures to Ya'qub by sending Mirza Akbar Shahi to him.[105] Ya'qub agreed to cease hostilities, but the final treaty was concluded by the Raja with Yusuf Shah.[106] It was agreed that Yusuf shah would retain his throne,[107] but that the coins would be struck and the *khutba* recited in the name of the Emperor;[108] that the mint, saffron cultivation, shawl manufacture, and game laws

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narrow defiles and passes. Yusuf Shah ostensibly agreed with them, but in reality he had become convinced of the futility of resistance, and had resolved to surrender himself to the Mughals.[93]

However, in order to conceal his plan, he made arrangements for the defence of the kingdom. He released Muhammad Bat and 'Alam Sher Magre from prison and proceeded with the latter to Baramula, leaving the former in charge of the capital.[94] At Baramula he organised three armies. The advance-guard was placed under Hasan Malik and 'Alam Sher Khan; the right was commanded by Ya'qub and Abul-ma'ali; and the left was under Baba Talib Isfahani[95] and Hasan Bat, the brother of Muhammad Bat. After making these appointments Yusuf Shah proceeded to Koh Kaurmast.[96]

When the Mughals arrived at the pass of Buliasa,[97] the Kashmiris moved forward to check their advance. The Mughal forces, partly owing to the stiff resistance which was offered to them, and partly because of snow, rain, and scarcity of supplies, failed to make any progress.[98] Raja Bhagwan Das therefore sent two of his agents with a letter to Yusuf Shah.[99] But they were seized by the Kashmiri soldiers who wanted to kill them, but they were rescued by the army chiefs, who pointed out that according to the common usage the life of an envoy was sacred. The letter stated that although the Mughals had been defeated at present owing to snow and rain, yet another army would soon arrive, and then it would be impossible for the Kashmiri forces to

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poet, Yusuf Shah was one of the most cultured rulers of the Sultanate period. Though not possessed of any personal Valour, he displayed, when he first ascended the throne, promptness and energy in suppressing the revolt of his uncle Abdal Chak. On being driven out of Kashmir, he again displayed enterprise, initiative, and resource in his attempts to recover the throne. After regaining the kingdom he tried to promote the welfare of his people. He prohibited the soldiers from taking corvee from the peasants, and, unlike his predecessors, he gave up the practice of exacting corvee and *Zakat* from the *hangis*. He also abolished *jizya* and taxes of an oppressive nature imposed on gardens, cattle, and artisans.[118] but despite all this he brought about his downfall through his own follies. Finding himself secure on the throne, he began to neglect the administration, spending more and more of his time over the wine cups and in the company of women and musicians. Moreover, he became so obsessed with the threat of a Mughal invasion that no amount of assurances of loyalty from his people could dispel the fear from his mind. But instead of adopting measures for the defence of the country, he was convinced that resistance was futile, and that only by a policy of submission could he save his kingdom. This was, however, a mistake, for he should have realised that Akbar was longing to annex Kashmir, and that once he was in his power he would lose both his freedom and his throne.

In exile, the lot of Yusuf Shah was very tragic. The allowance which he received from the Emperor,

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would be placed under the control of three imperial officers, Khwaja Miraki, Qalandar Beg, and Mulla Mazhari;[109] that he daughter of Mubarak Khan Gakkhar would be given in marriage to Prince Ya'qub;[110] and lastly, that Yusuf Shah would be responsible for bringing Prince Ya'qub to the presence of the Emperor.[111] Akbar did not approve of the treaty, but realising the conditions under which it had been concluded, he accepted it.[112]

After the conclusion of peace the Mughal army withdrew from Kashmir, and on March 28, 1586, at Attock, Yusuf Shah was presented to Akbar by Raja Bhagwan Das.[113] He was received with respect, but was imprisoned, and given in charge of Ram Das Kachwaha.[114] this was a clear violation of the treaty according to which Yusuf Shah, after paying homage to the Emperor, was entitled to return to his country. Bhagwan Das was so much affected by this breach that he attempted suicide to vindicate his honour as a Rajput.[115] When Akbar reached Lahore, Yusuf Shah was placed in charge of Raja Todar Mal, and for two and a half years he remained in his custody. But when Raja Man Singh returned from Kabul, the Emperor at his request released Yusuf Shah.[116] He conferred on him a *mansab* of 500 horse, a rank carrying a salary ranging from 2,100 to 2,500 rupees a month, and sent him with Raja Man Singh to Bihar.[117]

Of handsome appearance, an expert in the science of music, fond of Persian and Kashmiri poetry, patron of poets, scholars and musicians, and himself a

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REFERENCE

1. B.S., ff. 138a-b; also H.M., ff. 169-70b.

2. H.M., f., 171a; A.A. (Blochmann), p. 535. A.N., iii, 4o8, says that he was killed by a bullet. But according to B.S., ff. 140b-41a Abdal was hit by an arrow from Sayyid Abdu'I-Ma 'Ali, and was finally killed by Sayyid Husain Khan. But B.S. is inclined to exchange the exploits of the Baihaqi Sayyids.

3. Shams Chak was the son of Daulat Chak and Habib Chak was the son of Abdal Chak.

4. B.S., ff. 139a-42a; H.M., ff. 170a-71b.

5. B.S., f. 142b. Firishta and T.A. also say that Yusuf remained in power for two months. But H.M., f. 171b gives the period of one month and two days.

6. B.S., f. 142b.

7. H.M., f. 172a.

8. *Ibid.* B.S., ff. 143b-44a.

9. H.M says that Yusuf Shah ignored the advice because he was a miser. But no other authority holds the view that Yusuf possessed a miserly disposition. Haidar Malik is inclined to run down Yusuf in order to exit his grandfather, Naji Malik.

10. H.M., ff. 172b-73a; see also B.S., f. 144a. But B.S., unlike H.M., completely ignores the part played by Naji Malik in these events.

11. H.M., ff. 173a –74a; B.S., ff.145a-b.

12. B.S., ff.146a-47a.

13. H.M., f. 174a; A.N., iii, 409.

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though enough to support a life of comfort, was not sufficient to maintain his dignity; and, being of a generous nature and accustomed to luxury, he found himself always short of money. Moreover, in the scorching heat of the plains of Bihar, he longed for the cool and bracing climate and the picturesque sceneries of the Valley. In exile he missed the society of poets, scholars and musicians, but, above all, he pined for his beloved queen, Habba Khatun. She was the daughter of a peasant of the village of Chandahar in the vihi pargana. She had been unhappy with her first husband who was drunkard and a debauchee and who ill-treated her. A poetess and a musician, possessed of a sweet voice, she captivated the heart of Yusuf Shah who fell in love with her and married her.[119] He built for her mountain resorts in Gulmarg, Sonamarg and other beautiful spots, which he was wont to visit with her.[120] But now as a royal prisoner he knew he would never see her again. All this so much affected him that his mind gave way and he died on Wednesday, the 14th Zu'l-Hija, 1000/22nd September, 1592, after an illness of six days, and was buried in the pargana of Biswak.[121]

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REFERENCE

29. H.M., f. 156b, these defections were due to Abdal's despotic rule. (B.S., f. 157a).

30. H.M., f. 176b-77a; B.S., f. 158a.

31. H.M. (B.N.), f. 58a.

32. B.S., f. 158b; H.M., f, 177a.

33. B.S., F, 159b.

34. Hm, ff. 177a-b.

35. *Ibid.*, f. 177b; B.S,.160b.

36. H.M., f. 178b; B.S., ff. 160b-61a. Dachun-Khovur is Dechhin Khawarah of A.A. and of the Persian chronicles of Kashmir. It is the Valley lying on both the banks of the Jehlam below Baramula. (See Stein, ii, 493).

37. H.M., (B.N.), f. 58a.

38. A.N., iii, 465.

39. H.M., f, 179a.

40. A.N., iii, 465.

41. It is in Badgam Tahsil about $3^{1/2}$ miles north-west of Srinagar.

42. H.M., ff. 178a-80a.

43. B.S., ff. 162b-63a.

44. It is a village about 11 miles north-west of Srinagar , on the road connecting Srinagar with Gulmarg.

45. *Ibid.*, f. 164; H.M., ff. 180a-81b.

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14. B.S., ff. 148b.

15. H.M., f,174b.

16. B,.S., ff. 149a50a.

17. *Ibid.*, f. 150b. According to H.M., f. 174b, Yusuf retired without giving a fight.

18. B.S., ff. 151a-b.

19. Ibid., *f. 152 sqq.*

20. H.M., f. 175a.

21. B.S., ff. 155b-56a

22. H.M., f. 175b; A.N., iii, 409. According to B.S., f. 157a, Akbar presented Yusuf Shah two ladies.

23. B.S, f, 157a; T.A., iii, 503. According to H.M. (B.N) f. 57b and N.A., f. 92b Yusuf was refused help. But this is a wrong.

24. B.S., f. 157b. according to A.A(Blochmann), p. 535, the Mughal army accompanied Yusuf as far as Pinjar; according to T.A., iii, 503 it went up to Sialkot.

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42. H.M., ff. 178a-80a.

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45. *Ibid.*, f. 164; H.M., ff. 180a-81b.

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14. B.S., ff. 148b.

15. H.M., f,174b.

16. B,.S., ff. 149a50a.

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19. Ibid., *f. 152 sqq.*

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62. B.S., f. 170b. T.A., iii, 505 wrongly says that the royalists were victorious.

63. B.S., ff. 17ob-71a.

64. T.A., iii, 505; also B.S., f. 172a.

65. B.S, f. 172a; H.M., f. 182a.

66. B.S., ff. 172a-b.

67. T.A., iii, 504.

68. H.M., f. 183a.

69. *Ibid.*, ff. 183a-b

70. *Ibid.*, f. 183b; A.N., iii, 550; T.A., iii 504.

71. A.N., iii, 576; T.A., iii, 504; see also H.M., ff. 184b-85a.

72. B.S., ff. 173a-b; also H.M., f. 185a.

73. A.N., iii, 676.

74. H.M.., f. 185a.

75. A.N.. ii, 197. T.A., ii, 342.

76. A.N., iii, 705; T.A., ii, 396.

77. A.N., iii, 707. B.S., f. 174a, mentions Salih 'Aqil also as one of the envoys.

78. According to Persian chronicles of Kashmir, Ya'qub remained at the imperial court for 2 years. But A.N. and T.A. give the period of his as one year.

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46. *B.S., ff. 164b-65b.*

47. *Ibid.*, f. 166a.

48. Shams Chak belonged to the Chaks of Kupwara and should not be confused with Shams Chak, son of Daulat Chak, who was related to the ruling dynasty.

49. H.M., ff. 181a-b.

50. Ancient Karnaha. This territory lies between the Kishanganga and the Kajnag Range.

51. H.M., f. 181b; N.A., f. 95b.

52. H.M., f. 181b-82a.

53. B.S., ff. 181b-82a.

54. B.S., ff. 166b-067b; T.A., iii 504.

55. He was the ruler of Ladakh at this time. (See Francke, *History of Western Tibet,* p. 90). But the Ladakhi chronicles do not refer to his relations with Haidar Chak.

56. B.S., ff. 167b-68a.

57. It is now a part of Srinagar, and is situated to the south-east, near Takht-I-Sulaiman.

58. B.S., f. 168b; T.A., iii, 504.

59. B.S., ff. 169a-b.

60. *Ibid.*, ff. 169b-70a.

61. Ibid., f. 170a; T.A., iii, 505.

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REFERENCE

92. A.N., iii, 722-3.

93. H.M., f. 188a; Suka, pp. 400-1.

94. B.S., f. 174b.

95. See A.A. (Blochmann), p..676 and n.3.

96. H.M., ff, 188a-b Kuarmast is the last pass on the road to Srinagar, and is described by Murray as the Baramula Pass. (A.A. iii, 724n.1).

97. Buliasa or Peliasa, formerly Bolyasaka, lies on the right bank of the Jehlam, about 50 miles away from Baramula. Jahangir called it Bhulbs (*Tuzuk,* ii, 131) and A.N., iii, 723, calls it Bulyas. See Stein, ii, 403, for the strategic importance of this pass.

98. H.M., f, 189a.

99. *Ibid. (*B.N.). f. 62a

100.*Ibid.*, f. 189a.

101 H.M. and A.N. do not give the names of the envoys. But B.S. refers to one envoy as Mirza Qasim, the grandson of Khwaja Haji.

102 It is in the Badgam Tahsil, Baramula dist.

103 H.M., f. 189b; A.N., iii, 724. But A.N. wrongly says that it was Yusuf who sent an envoy to the Mughal camp expressing his desire to submit.

104 B.S., f. 176a. Fighting mostly took place in the pass of Buliasa. Jahangir in his tuzuk, ii,132 lays that it was in this pass that Yaqub fought against Bhagwan Das. According to

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79. H.M., f. 185b.

80. *Ibid.*, f. 186a.

81. Ibid., f. 186b.

82. Akbar was angry with Yusuf Shah for not coming to court and so wrecked his anger on Ya'qub by calling him wicked and mad. (See H.M., f. 185a).

83. M.T., ii, 365.

84. H.M., ff. 186b-87a; also B.S., f. 173b. But B.S. says Ya'qub escaped from Buhlulpur. The statement in AN., iii, 707, that Ya'qub escaped first and the envoys were sent afterwards, is not corroborated other authorities.

85. H.M., f. 187a.

86. *Ibid.*, f. 187; Firishta, ii, 699 says Yusuf came as far as Thanna. But this seems wrong, for the nobles would not have allowed him to proceed so far.

87. *H.M., f. 187b.*

88. *Ibid.*, f. 188a.

89. *T.A., iii, 505-6.*

90. A.N., iii, 714; also T.A., iii, 504. H.M.., f. 187b is wrong in stating that Yusuf dismissed Hakim 'Ali when he heard that Bhagwan Das had been appointed to invade Kashmir. Actually the appointment was made on Hakim 'Ali's return.

91. A.N., iii,715; T.A., ii, 398; M.T., ii, 360. H.M., f. 187b says that the Mughal troops numbered 50,000. But this is an exaggeration.

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101 H.M. and A.N. do not give the names of the envoys. But B.S. refers to one envoy as Mirza Qasim, the grandson of Khwaja Haji.

102 It is in the Badgam Tahsil, Baramula dist.

103 H.M., f. 189b; A.N., iii, 724. But A.N. wrongly says that it was Yusuf who sent an envoy to the Mughal camp expressing his desire to submit.

104 B.S., f. 176a. Fighting mostly took place in the pass of Buliasa. Jahangir in his tuzuk, ii,132 lays that it was in this pass that Yaqub fought against Bhagwan Das. According to

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79. H.M., f. 185b.

80. *Ibid.*, f. 186a.

81. Ibid., f. 186b.

82. Akbar was angry with Yusuf Shah for not coming to court and so wrecked his anger on Ya'qub by calling him wicked and mad. (See H.M., f. 185a).

83. M.T., ii, 365.

84. H.M., ff. 186b-87a; also B.S., f. 173b. But B.S. says Ya'qub escaped from Buhlulpur. The statement in AN., iii, 707, that Ya'qub escaped first and the envoys were sent afterwards, is not corroborated other authorities.

85. H.M., f. 187a.

86. *Ibid.*, f. 187; Firishta, ii, 699 says Yusuf came as far as Thanna. But this seems wrong, for the nobles would not have allowed him to proceed so far.

87. *H.M., f. 187b.*

88. *Ibid.*, f. 188a.

89. *T.A., iii, 505-6.*

90. A.N., iii, 714; also T.A., iii, 504. H.M.., f. 187b is wrong in stating that Yusuf dismissed Hakim 'Ali when he heard that Bhagwan Das had been appointed to invade Kashmir. Actually the appointment was made on Hakim 'Ali's return.

91. A.N., iii,715; T.A., ii, 398; M.T., ii, 360. H.M., f. 187b says that the Mughal troops numbered 50,000. But this is an exaggeration.

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REFERENCE

117. T.H. ii, f. 142. It is stranger that contemporary authorities like B.S. and H.M, do not mention Habba Khatun at all. Our information about her is based on local tradition. But unfortunately all kinds of romantic tales are current about her in the Valley, so that it is difficult to separate fact from fiction.

118. T.H., ii, f. 143a.

119. A.A., ii, 121 (Niwal Kishore) has Biswak. A.S.B., 1885, p. 166, has also Biswak, and the place is still called by this name. But A.A., ii, 166 (English trans) has Basok, while B.S. has Basang or Basank. I am extremely grateful to Professor Hassan 'Askari of Patna University fort taking the trouble of visiting Biswak and obtaining information for me from the local people about the graves of Yusuf Shah and Ya'qub . here is what he says:-

"Biswak is situated some 3 miles north-east of Islampur (Patna dist) Adjacent to the village there is a mound which is said to have been a *garh*, although no historical information is available about it. The site has often yielded copper and gold coins in the course of minor diggings for domestic purpose. In one instance clay *chukkas* containing gold mohurs of Shahjahan's reign are reported to have been found. There are two tombs of "Pir-Shah Ya'qub and "Yusuf Shah respectively near this *garh*.. the villagers known nothing about the antecedents of these two personages. At a short distances from Biswak there is a village called Kashmirichak, which is now completely deserted and in ruins. According to local tradition, however, the Muslims belonging to this village came from Kashmir, as is indicated by the name which the place bears. There is a mosque in this villages near which the tomb of Yusuf Shah is situated. Only with the ground in order to bring the land under cultivation. On finding however, that it was a tomb, they, out of superstition, left it half demolished. If local tradition is passed together with the relevant historical information, it can definitely be established that these

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B.S., 177b, the Mughal camp was established in the village of Buliasa.

105. B.S., f, 177a; H.M., ff. 199a-b; T.A., ii, 401 A.N., iii, 725, is incorrect in stating that "Kashmiris came forward with entreaties and proposed peace See also M.T., ii, 363.

106. .A., ii, 401; M.T., ii, 363.

107. M.T., ii, 363.

108. B.S., f. 177a; A.N., iii, 725.

109. A.N., iii, 725 and n.2.

110. H.M., f. 177a; A.N., iii, 725.

111. B.S., f. 177b.

112. According to M.T. ii, 363, Akbar did not accept the treaty. T.A., ii, 401 even says that the Emperor so much disapproved of the treaty that he did not allow the officers to appear before him. However, it seems that afterwards Akbar accepted the treaty. (A.N., iii, 725).

113. A.N, iii, 738; see also T.A., iii, 506. Smith, *Akbar*, p. 239, is incorrect in saying that Ya'qub also surrendered along with his father. Smith is sometimes wrong in his sequence of events.

114. H.M., f. 191a.

115. B.S., f. 177b; M.T., ii, 364. But A.N., iii, 745, says he committed this in a fit of insanity. Smith, *Akbar*, p. 240 regards it as a correct explanation.

116. Man Singh was replaced as governor of Kabul by Zain Khan and was appointed to the government of Bihar.

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CHAPTER X

FALL OF THE SULTANATE

SINCE the treaty had been concluded with the Mughals by Yusuf Shah, who had fled the country and ceased to be the Sultan, Ya'qub Shah and the Kashmiri nobles did not regard it as binding on them. And so when, after the Mughal withdrawal, Ya'qub Shah returned to Srinagar, he had the coins struck and the *khutba* recited in his own name. He however did not rule with tact, ability, and justice. He made the mistake of appointing 'Ali Dar, who was incompetent and addicted to intoxicants, his prime minister.[1] Ya'qub Shah also became arrogant,[2] treating the nobles with disrespect, and ignoring their advice. Moreover, having defeated the Mughals he was lulled into a false sense of security, and neglected the defence of the passes leading into Kashmir.[3] But the greatest mistake which he made was that he adopted a hostile attitude towards the Sunnis. He sent Mulla 'Aini, whom he had given the title of Khan,[4] to Qazi Musa with the message to mention henceforth the name of 'Ali in all public prayers. As the Qazi refused to comply with it, Ya'qub Shah sent for him and tried to argue with him. Qazi Musa pointed out that rulers should not concern themselves with religious matters, but should devote their time and attention to the affairs of state. Furthermore, they should be tolerant, for intolerance leads to chaos and confusion in the kingdom. Ya'qub Shah was greatly displeased by these insolent replies, but for the time being he spared Musa, contenting himself only with showering abuses on him.

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tombs are those of Yusuf Shah, the rule of Kashmir, and his son and successor, Ya'qub Shah. According imprisoned him. He was released later and granted a jagir in the pargana of Biswak, where both he had and his son Ya'qub settled and died. The existance of a village named Kashmirichak with a Kashmir Muslim population is also suggestive and significant. Authentic history and tradition thus corroborate each other, and there is no doubt that these tombs are those of Yusuf Shah and Ya'qub Shah"

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[Sopore] (HNR) Bridge and was preparing for hostilities.[10] He, therefore, set out from Srinagar with a large force, and having crossed the Jehlam near Sopur [Sopore] (HNR), he attacked the rebels and routed them. Sher Magre escaped to the hill of Kichhama, while 'Ali Dar fled to Barbal. Shams Chak took refuge in Srinagar, but was captured and imprisoned.[11]

After suppressing the rebellion, Ya'qub once more began to press Qazi Musa to include the name of 'Ali in the prayers. But Musa was adamant, and refused to comply. Partly due to this refusal, and partly because Ya'qub regarded Musa as being solely responsible for the recent rising, he, contrary to the advice of his counsellors, ordered Musa's execution.[12] This was an extremely unwise act on his part, for it antagonised the Sunnis and paved the way for the Mughal annexation of Kashmir.[13] Another mistake which he committed was that, on the advice of Mulla Hasan Aswad, he dismissed Muhammad Bat, his prime minister, who was capable man, and threw him into prison. Nazuk Bat, who was appointed in his place, was not competent enough to solve the problems, both internal and external, which faced the country.[14]

Owing to Ya'qub Shah's intolerance and harshness, Baba Da'ud Khaki with his followers went away to Multan, while a number of chiefs headed by Shaikh Ya'qub Sarfi proceeded to the court of Akbar

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Owing to Ya'qub's arrogance and religious fanaticism, some of the nobles like Shams Chak, Malik Hasan Chadura, 'Alam Sher Magre, and the Wazir, 'Ali Dar, were driven into hostility against him, and they decided to proceed to Lahore to seek the help of Akbar.[6] But when they reached Hirapur, Hasan Malik suggested that, since the rainy season was about to commence, they should give up the idea of going to India, and, instead, march on Srinagar and occupy it as Ya 'qub was absent in the village of Phag.[7] Ya'qub, hearing of the plan, released Muhammad Bat, and appointed him Wazir in place of 'Ali Dar, and on his advice immediately set out to the capital, which he reached before the rebels. The latter encamped at Zialdakar Zialdagar (HNR), while Ya'qub established himself in the field of 'Id-gah.[8] But after a week of desultory fighting Shaikh Hasan, son of Mir Shamsu'd-Din, and Baba Khalil, who were the *pirs* of Ya'qub Shah, brought about a settlement. The rebels were given the province of Kamraj Kamraz (HNR) and they left for Sopur [Sopore] (HNR) which was to be their seat.[9] But on the way Shams Chak and 'Alam Sher Magre decided to put Baba Khalil and Shaikh Hasan, who were accompanying them, to death in revenge for Ya'qub's policy of intolerance towards the Sunnis. But Hasan Malik intervened, and sent them back safely to Srinagar. When Ya'qub heard that Shams Chak and 'Alam Sher Magre had made an attempt on the lives of the Shi'ite divines, he was furious. Moreover, he came to know that Shams Chak had destroyed the Sopur

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reached Rajauri, Bahram Nayak, Isma'il Nayak, and Shanki Chadura,[22] who were entrusted with the defence of the passes leading into Kashmir, came and submitted, and assured him of the support of the Kashmiri nobles.[23]

Learning of the Mughal invasion, Ya'qub Shah marched towards Hirapur to repel it. But on all sides he saw nothing else but defection. He had sent a force under Bahadur Khan Chak and Naurang Khan Chak, but Bahadur Chak imprisoned Naurang Chak and proceeded to join the Mughals.[24] He was however , met by Zafar Khan Nayak who rescued Naurang Chak; but Bahadur Chak succeeded in going over to the Mughals at Karanbal.[25] Sine there were other defections besides, Yusuf Khan, Aiba Khan, and Sayyid Mubarak found it impossible to check the Mughal advance, and returned to join Ya'qub Shah at Hirapur .[26] Ya'qub was so disheartened by these developments that he decided to retire to Kishtwar. By the time he reached the pargana of Bring only a few of his followers had remained with him. [27]

Qasim Khan felt encouraged by these desertions. Moreover he was assured by Ya'qub Sarfi that many other chiefs too were waiting to join at Hastivanj. [28] He therefore sent a force under Ya'qub Sarfi and Jai Tawachibashi, with instructions to effect a junction with them. During their march the Mughals suffered great privations on account of snow and cold, and then when they reached Hastivanj, they discovered to their

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and requested him to invade Kashmir and annex it. They entered into the following agreement with the Emperor:--[15]

(1) There shall be complete freedom of worship and no interference in religious affairs.
(2) There shall be no interference with the purchase and sale of commodities, and the rates of cereals.
(3) Kashmiris shall not be made slaves.
(4) Kashmiris shall not be molested or oppressed; nor will they be required to do begar (corvee).
(5) Those Kashmiri nobles who are a source of mischief shall not be associated with the administration of the country.

We have seen that Akbar did not approve of the treaty concluded by Raja Bhagwan Das with Yusuf Shah, but that he had accepted it as a matter of expediency. When, therefore, he learnt of the dissensions in Kashmir and was assured by Shaikh Ya'qub Sarfi of the support of Kashmiri chiefs, he resolved upon its conquest. He first sent an army under Mirza Shah Rukh, but as the latter did not prosecute the campaign effectively owing to his anxiety to return to India, he was relieved of the command,[16] and in his place Mir Qasim Khan Mir Bahr[17] was appointed along with Fath Khan and Mirza 'Ali Akbar Shahi,[18] while Ya'qub Sarfi and Haidar Chak were deputed to act as their guides and to win over the Kashmiris to the side of the Mughals.[19] Qasim Khan set out from Lahore on June 28, 1586,[20] and passed through the defile of Bhimbhar on the Ist of September, 1586,[21] When he

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October 10, 1586, he had an engagement with their advance-guard. As the Kashmiris were on a height occupying an advantageous position, they repulsed the Mughals by discharging muskets and rolling down heavy stones, Qasim Khan, thereupon, himself went forward to meet the Kashmiris. The latter put up a stiff resistance, but after their commanders, Mohammed Qasim Khan Nayak, his son Zafar Khan Nayak, and Muhammad Chak, the son of Shams Chak, were killed they became demoralised and fled, pursued by the Mughals. Yadgar Husain, on instructions from Qasim Khan, at once advanced to occupy Srinagar. He entered it on October 14, without meeting any resistance, and had the *khutba* read in the name of Emperor. The next day Qasim Khan himself arrived at the capital.[35]

We have seen that Ya'qub Shah, betrayed by his supporters, had fled to Kishtwar. But as Raja Bahadur Singh of Kishtwar, who was his father- in –law, criticised him for his cowardice in having run away without fighting the Mughals, Ya'qub Shah returned to the Valley with a small following. He was joined by Yusuf Khan, Ibrahim Khan, and Malik Hasan.[36] Many other persons also, owing to the oppressive rule of Qasim Khan, rallied to Ya'qub.[37] His force swelled to 8,000 horse and he made Chandrakot[38] his headquarters. Shams Chak, on the other hand,established himself at Sopur [Sopore] (HNR). He had an army of 3,000 horse and 7,000 foot, and was supported by Husain Khan and Abu'l-Ma'ali. From Chandrakot and Sopur [Sopore] (HNR) the Kashmiris set out in parties to

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surprise, instead of friendly Kashmiri nobles, a hostile force determined to check their advance.[29] What had happened is that the Kashmiri chiefs like Husain Khan, Shams Gana'i and others, having feft ashamed for causing the defeat and flight of Ya'qub, had changed their minds and decided not to submit to the Mughals. Accordingly they had marched to Hastivanj to check their advance. They defeated the Mughals and took Ya'qub Sarfi and jai Tawachibashi prisoners.[30] But thinking that their victory had been decisive, they did not follow it up; and, instead of making arrangements for the defence of the passes, they returned to Hirapur. Here they enthroned Husain Khan Chak, the son of Aiba Khan, in place of Ya'qub Shah.[31]

Meanwhile Shams Chak, who had been imprisoned by Ya'qub, taking advantage of the chaos escaped from prison, and set out towards Kamraj Kamraz (HNR).[32] But when he reached Chadura he was met by Malik Hasan who advised him to proceed towards Hirapur, and fight the Mughals. He accepted the advice, and with Malik Hasan marched to Hirapur. On arriving there, he, with the consent of the nobles, declared himself Sultan, and deposed Husain Khan, who had been raised to the throne only four days before.[33]

Owing to their internal dissensions the Kashmiris had not been able to direct their attention to the enemy. It was only when the latter, having crossed the Karanbal hill, had arrived at the pass of Hastivanj that Shams Chak advanced to offer them battle.[34] On

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news filled the troops of Ya'qub Shah with consternation, and many of them retired from the battle-field, thus weakening his position.[43] Meanwhile the Mughals, having received reinforcements under Muhammad Khan, the son of Fath Khan Faujdar, from across the Jehlam, took the offensive. Ya'qub's followers were unable to withstand the attack, and they fled, pursued by 'Ali Akbar Shahi.[44]

This victory strengthened the morale of the Mughals, and Qasim Khan began to send scouring parties to reduce the various parts of Kashmir. At the same time he sent a force under Shaikh Daulat Bakhtiyar against Shams Chak who was at Sopur [Sopore] (HNR). When the Mughals reached Danawari, Shams Chak with Sayyid Husain Baihaqi and Shams Duni made a night attack on them, but were defeated and withdrew to Sopur [Sopore] (HNR). From there, on account of winter, they left for the hills of Karnav.[45] Other Kashmiri chiefs also dispersed to the hills, while Ya'qub Shah retired to Kishtwar.[46] But Yusuf Khan Khan-i-Khanan, Husain Khan, and Muhammad Bat, perceiving the futility of resistance, made overtures to Qasim Khan; and, on being assured of personal safety, they submitted on December 9, 1586. They were sent to Lahore with Baba Khalil, Baba Mehdi, and Sayyid Mubarak, who were suspected of inciting the Kashmiris against the Mughals, and presented to the Emperor on March 2, 1587.[47]

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attack the Mughals. They avoided pitched battles and instead harassed them by making surprise attacks, cutting down stragglers, and intercepting their supplies. These tactics were so successful that it became impossible for the Mughals to leave the city.[39]

After a month and a half, during which period the Mughals had been subjected to continuous harassment, Qasim Khan decided to attack Ya'qub. But on approaching his camp he was informed that Ya'qub had proceeded to make an attack on the city. Qasim Khan, therefore, turned back and sent a force in advance under Muhammad 'Ali. Ya'qub Shah, who lay in wait for him near a hill in Vular, south-east of Srinagar, attacked him and gained a victory.[40] Encouraged by this success, he made a night attack on the western side of the town. Many houses were set on fire, including the palace of Yusuf Shah in which Qasim Khan was residing. As a result he had to take refuge in the garden of Malik Muhammad Naji. From there he issued instructions to organise resistance, and ordered the execution of Haidar Chak lest he should escape and join Ya'qub.[41] When the Kashmiris heard the news of Haidar Chak's death they were roused to fury, and determined themselves to take their revenge.[42] They attacked the Mughals in every nook and corner of the city and killed many of them. And they would have gained the day had it not been for an act of indiscretion committed by Ya'qub. Elated with initial success he ordered the execution of Husain Khan, who had been set up as ruler at Hirapur, and of his supporters. This

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forget the past and unite against the common enemy. Since Shams Chak responded favourably, Ya'qub, accompanied by Hasan Malik, joined him in the fort of Hanjik. The two chiefs then set out to attack the Mughals whom they encountered near Hanjik.[55] The Mughals were completely routed and lost 1,500 men. They were pursued by Hasan Malik up to the field of Zialdakar Zialdagar (HNR) in Srinagar.[56]

The victory achieved by the Kashmiris enabled Ya'qub and Shams to establish themselves on the Koh-i-Maran. The Mughals, on the other hand, were reduced to a sad plight. For two months they dared not come out of the city, being subjected to continuous harassment. The Kashmiris grew even so bold as to attack the enemy in the town to carry away their horses and supplies.[57] This state of affairs made Qasim Khan very despondent, and so he requested the Emperor for his recall. Akbar, accordingly, ordered Yusuf Khan Rizvi[58] to proceed to Kashmir with Mulla Talib Isfahani, Baba Khalil and Muhammad Bat, who were to act as guides and to win over the guardians of the passes. Yusuf Rizvi set out from Lahore in about the middle of 1588.[59]

When Ya 'qub Shah heard that a strong army was coming to reinforce Qasim Khan, he deputed Shams Chak's brother Lohar Chak to prevent them from entering Kashmir. Hasan Malik, however, opposed the appointment on the ground that Lohar Chak, being a friend of Baba Khalil, would go over to the Mughals, and suggested that Shams Chak be sent

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For two months during the winter fighting ceased. But at the approach of spring Ya'qub Shah returned from Kishtwar, and established himself at the foot of a hill in the Vular Pargana, [48] while Shams Chak returned from Karnav to Sopur [Sopore] (HNR).[49] For some time there were daily skirmishes between the Mughals and the Kashmiris, but they did not lead to any decisive result. Eventually, early in 1588, Qasim Khan despatched a force under Mirzada 'Ali Khan and Sayyid 'Abdu'llah Khan,[50] with Sher Khan Magre to act as a guide. They met Ya'qub at Gusu.[51] The Mughals, being handicapped by a heavy fall of snow, the narrowness of the defile, and the slipperiness of the road, were defeated. Mirzada, 'Ali Khan was killed with 300 of his men, while the rest were either taken prisoners or escaped to Qasim Khan.[52] Encouraged by this victory, Ya'qub moved to the Takht-i-Sulaiman and encamped there. Shams Chak was also roused to action, and occupied the fort of Hanjik, four miles west of Srinagar.[53]

The next day Qasim Khan himself advanced to attack Ya'qub, and encountered him at the foot of the Takht-i-Sulaiman. The Mughals would have again suffered defeat, but fortunately for them, Naurang Chak, Ya'qub Shah's commander-in-chief, was killed by an arrow which pierced his eye. This demoralised the Kashmiris and led to their rout.[54]

In spite of this defeat Ya'qub was not disheartened. He made overtures to Shams Chak to

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of Vular to reorganise his army. But he found that treachery was rife in his camp, for his troops were going over to the Mughals. That is why when Muhammad Bat and Muhammad Mir advanced to attack him, he escaped to Kishtwar without offering any resistance[64]. But Abu'l-Ma 'ali, who tried to put a fight, was taken prisoner in the village of Chrar[65]. These unexpected developments convinced Shams Chak that any further resistances to the Mughals was futile, and so through the mediation of Sayyid Baha'u'd-Din he surrendered. Shortly after he was sent to the Emperor[66]. The submission of Shams Chak greatly disheartened Ya'qub Shah. And so when Akbar arrived Kashmir early in June 1588, he too decided to give up the struggle and submit. Accordingly, he returned from Kishtwar[67] and towards the end of July, did personal homage to the Emperor, who sent him with Hasan Beg Turkman to Raja Man Singh at Rohtas. On the way Ya 'qub and his followers planned that his brother Ibrahim should assassinate Hasan Beg and then all should escape. But the plan mis carried, for when Hasan Beg, was attacked by Ibrahim, the Mughal guard came to his rescue and killed Ibrahim. Ya'qub Shah, having repented for his part in the affair, was forgiven by Hasan Begh and was conducted safely to his father at Jaunpur. From there, after taking a letter of guarantee from Yusuf Shah, Hasan Beg sent Ya'qub Shah to Raja Man Singh at Rohtas[68]. Here he was kept virtually a prisoner, for it was thought that he might again make an attempt to escape. But when Yusuf Shah died, Man Singh transferred his rank to Ya'qub, and allowed him to proceed to his jagir. Before leaving Rohtas, Ya'qub

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against Yusuf Rizvi, while Ya'qub himself should stay behind to blockade Qasim Khan, who was sure to perish owing to the want of supplies. But his advice was not followed; and, as Hasan Malik had predicted, Lohar Chak, instead of intercepting the Mughal force, joined it long with Bahram Nayak. This news spread consternation among the Kashmiri troops in Hanjik, and when they heard of the arrival of Yusuf Rizvi at Hirapur, many of their chiefs deserted and submitted to him[61]. The Kashmiri forces thus completely disintegrated. Ya 'qub Shah in disgust went away to Kishtwar, while Shams Chak retried to the Bring pargana[62].

Yusuf Rizvi adopted a policy of conciliation and won over many chiefs. He then sent a force under Sayyid Baha'u'd-Din and Muhammad Bat against Shams Chak. But the latter made a night attack on them from the village of Trigam and obtained much plunder. At dawn, however, he retried to the hills of Kamraj Kamraz (HNR) [63]. Meanwhile, Ya 'qub Shah had returned from Kishtwar and encamped at Panjyari in Dachun Khovur. Yusuf Rizvi, thereupon, sent a force under Muhammad Bat and Haji Miraki against him. The Mughal commanders sent a messenger to persuade Ya'qub on the advice of Abu'I-Ma 'ali, rejected these overtures, and determined to fight the enemy and die a hero's death. He accordingly attacked the Mughals, but although he obtained a victory over the advance-guard led by Muhammad Mir, the battle was indecisive, as hostilities had to be suspended on account of heavy rains. After this Ya'qub Shah withdrew to the pargana

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2. A.N., iii, 762, says that Ya'qub became so arrogant as to adopt the title of Shah Isma'il. This he probably did in imitation of the founder of the Safavid dynasty.

3. H.M., f, 192a.

4. H.M., (B.N.) f. 63a.

5. H.M. ff. 192a-b; N.A., ff. 106-107a. Suka. p. 403 also refers to these religious discords.

6. H.M., f. 192a.

7. *Ibid.*, f. 193a

8. *Ibid.*, B.S., f. 179a.

9. *H.M., f. 193b.*

10. *Ibid.*, f. 194a. But B.S., f. 178a sq. gives a slightly different version of the conflict.

11. H.M., ff. 194a-b; B.S., f. 180a.

12. *Ibid., f.* 195a.

13. *Ibid.*

14. B.S., f. 181b.

15. W.K., f. 58a.

16. A.N., iii, 747.

17. For his career, see A.A. (Blochmann), pp.412-3.

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Shah went to bid farewell to Qasim Khan, who claimed to be the son of Yusuf Shah. He ate the poisoned betel leaves that were offered to him by Qasim Khan. By the time he reached Behira[69] his condition grew worse, and he died in the month of Muharram 1001/October 1593. His body was carried by Abu'I-Ma 'ali to Biswak, and buried there near the grave of his father Yusuf Shah[70].

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Shah went to bid farewell to Qasim Khan, who claimed to be the son of Yusuf Shah. He ate the poisoned betel leaves that were offered to him by Qasim Khan. By the time he reached Behira[69] his condition grew worse, and he died in the month of Muharram 1001/October 1593. His body was carried by Abu'I-Ma 'ali to Biswak, and buried there near the grave of his father Yusuf Shah[70].

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departure for Kishtwar, and not before as A.N. says. A.N. is not always correct in its sequence of events.

31. H.M., f. 196b. Husain Shah was a cousin of Ya'qub Shah. (H.M. (B.N.) f. 64a).

32. Ya'qub Shah finding his affairs in chaos had released Shams Chak and Muhammad Bat, his former Wazir, so that they might help him. But pressed by his counsellors, Ya'qub had again imprisoned them. However, taking advantage of the chaos, they now managed to escape. (A.N., iii, 768).

33. H.M., ff. 196b-97b.

34. B.S., f. 184a wrongly states that Shams Chak proceeded to the top of the Kanarbal hill to fight the Mughals, and that when he was defeated the Mughals encamped at Hastivanj.

35. A.N., iii, 769-70; H.M., f. 198a; also H.M .(B.N.), f. 64a.

36. H.M., f. 198b.

37. A.N., iii, 796.

38. It is an important village in the Baramula Tahsil, about 29 miles north-west of Srinagar.

39. H.M., ff. 198b-99a.

40. A.N., iii, 786-7.

41. B.S., f. 186a; Suka, p. 409, H.M., f. 199b says that Haidar Chak was put to death by his guards. But it seems unlikely that the execution should have taken place without Qasim's orders.

42. B.S., 196a; A.N., iii, 776.

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18. A.N., iii, 747; also B.S., f. 182a.

19. B.S., f. 182a.

20. A.N., iii, 752; also B.S., f. 184b; and M.T., ii, 364-65. The difference between the dates of A.N. and M.T. is only of a few days. B.S. also says that Qasim occupied Srinagar in 994/1586. But according to A.N. (Blohmann) p. 412, and T.A., ii, 403, Qasim Khan left Lahore in early Sha'ban 994/Ist half of July 1587.

21. A.N., iii, 764.

22. Abu'l-Fazl's Carwarah is the village of Chadura, the home of Haidar Malik.

23. A.N., iii, 764; B.S., f. 182b; see also Suka, pp. 405-6.

24. H.M., f. 195b. According to H.M. (B.N.), f. 64a, only 30 or 40 horsemen remained with Ya'qub by the time he reached Hirapur.

25. H.M., f. 196a. Karanbal is the same as Kapartal Pass. See p. 133n. 1, *supra.*

26. B.S., f. 182b. Aiba Khan, son of Abdal Khan, is the same person as Abiya Khan of A.N., iii, 768.

27. H.M., f. 183b. Bring is in the Anantnag dist.

28. See p. 24, *supra*, for Hastivanj.

29. A.N., iii, 766-7; H.M., 196a.

30. B.S., f. 183b; H.M., f. 196b. According to A.N., iii, 767 Ya'qub was wounded but was saved by his friends. Jai was, however, taken prisoner. This battle took place after Ya'qub's

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58. He was a Sayyid of Mashhad. For details of his life, see A.A. (Blochmann), pp. 369 sqq.

59. A.N., iii, 798; H.M., f. 203b. Sayyid Mubarak was also asked to accompany them in order to help in the general pacification of the country. But as he refused to go, Akbar became angry and sent him as a prisoner to Shahbaz Khan Kambu in Bengal. After a year when Shahbaz Khan was proceeding to Lahore to pay his respects to the Emperor and had reached Firuzabad, Sayyid Mubarak, who was with him, was taken ill and died. (See B.S., f. 190a).
60. H.M., f. 203b.
61. *Ibid.*, ff. 203b-4a.
62. A.N., iii, 798; B.S., f. 191a.
63. A..N., iii, 798-99; also B.S., ff. 191a-b. But B.S. says Shams Chak retired to the Bring pargana.
64. B.S., ff. 192a-93b.

65. *Ibid.*, f. 194a.

66. B.S., ff. 194a-95a; A.N., iii, 799. Shams Chak subsequently died at Burhanpur in the Deccan. (B.S., f. 205b).

67. A.N., iii, 846; B.S., f. 196a; H..M., f. 204b; also Suka, p. 418. But M.T., ii, 365, and T.A., ii, 404, say that Ya'qub submitted to Qasim Khan. This is incorrect, for it was not the latter but Yusuf Rizvi who was in command in Kashmir at this time.

68. B.S., ff. 199b-200a.

69. A.A., ii, 120 (Niwal Kishore ed.) has Behira. But A.A., ii, 166 (Eng. Trans.) and J.A.S.B., 1885, p. 166, has Pahra. It was in the Bihar Sarkar under Akbar.

70. B.S., ff. 201a-202b; see also p. 180 f.n. 3 *supra*. Sufi, i, 236-7, is wrong in saying that Ya'qub was buried in Kishtwar.

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43. H.M., f. 199b.

44. A.N., iii, 776.

45. H.M., f. 200a; also B.S., ff. 187a sqq.

46. B.S., f. 188a.

47. B.S., ff. 188a-b; A.N., iii, 787; Suka, p. 411. B.S. says that Sayyid Mubarak was leading a retired life at this time.

48. It was a pargana comprising a long narrow valley, which stretches from the north side of the Jehlam, between Avantipur and Bijbehara. Its ancient name was Holada. (Stein, ii, 460; Bates, *Kashmir Gazetteer*, p. 405).

49. B.S., f. 189a; H.M., f. 200b.

50. These two commanders had been sent by Akbar to the aid of Qasim Khan. (A.N., iii, 788).

51. It is a village in the Pulwana (Pulwama) Tahsil (Avantipur).

52. H.M., ff. 200b-1a; A.A. (Blochmann), pp. 491, 518. *Ma'asiru'l-Umara'*, ii 258, agree with A.A. and A.N. in assigning the date of Mirza 'Ali Khan's death as 995/1587. But Bada'uni, who was a friend of Mirza 'Ali Khan, gives 996/1588 as the year of his death.

53. H.M., f. 201a.

54. *Ibid.*, f. 201.a.

55. *Ibid.*, ff. 201b-202a.

56. *Ibid*, ff. 202b-3a.

57. *Ibid.*, f. 203b.

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CHAPTER XI

THE ADMINISTRATIVE SYSTEM

The Central Government

IN the absence of any treatise on administration, and with only a few stray reference in the chronicles, it is difficult to present a comprehensive picture of how the Valley was governed during the Sultanate period. We can, at best, make out only a general outline, without any details.

From the little evidence that is at our disposal, it appears that Shah Mir and his immediate successors did not replace the governmental organisation of the Hindu kings. What they did was to infuse vigour and efficiency into the administration, and in this way tried to protect the peasants from rapacious officials, promote agriculture, suppress refractory chiefs, and establish law and order. From the time of Sultan Sikandar, however, under the influence of Persians and Turks, the tendency was to model the administration on the system prevalent in other countries under Muslim rule. The result was that new institutions began to be imported and designations of the old ones to be changed. However, although minor innovations continued to be introduced till the end of the Sultanate, the main lines of administrative development seem to have been completed during the reign of Sultan Zainu'l-'Abidin.

The Sultan

The Sultan of Kashmir, like his predecessors, was an autocrat. He was the supreme executive,

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kingdom and sought their advice. This was done by Mirza Haidar when he banned the Nurbakhshiya Order and put to death many of its leaders.[2] Similarly, it was after consulting the *'Ulama* that Husain Shah Chak ordered the execution of Yusuf and, later, of Qazi Gana'i and Qazi Almas.[3]

Symbols of Sovereignty

Apart from these powers, the Sultan also enjoyed certain special prerogatives to distinguish him from the nobles and his other subjects. These prerogatives or symbols were necessary to maintain his dignity and inspire awe and fear in the hearts of his people.

(a) ***Titles:*** All the rulers of the Shah Mir and Chak dynasties adopted the title of Sultan. Other common titles were Shah, Padshah, and Sultanau'l-A'zam. But in addition, each ruler also assumed special titles. Thus Zainu'l-'Abidin called himself Na'ib-i-Amiru'l-Mu'minin, and Ghazi Chak as Muhammad Humayun. Sultan Husain Shah Chak took the title of Nasiru'd-Din Padshah Ghazi, and the same title was assumed by Yusuf Shah. But 'Ali Shah called himself Zahiru'd-Din Muhammad 'Ali Padshah. But Ya'qub Shah assumed the title of Isma'il Shah.[4] Evidently the Chak rulers had adopted these titles in imitation of the Mughal Emperors of India and the Safavi Shahs of Persia.

(b).***Khutba and Sikka:*** At first it was only the prerogative of the Caliph to have his name recited in the *khutba* or sermon before the Friday prayers, and any

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legislative and judicial authority in his kingdom. He could make laws and interpret the *Shari'a*. He was his own commander-in-chief, and led the campaigns either personally or appointed other commanders in his place. He was the highest court of appeal, and had the power of life and death over this subjects.

The Sultan had a council consisting of his ministers and high officials whom he consulted on all matters relating to administration, foreign policy, and war and peace. Although the ultimate decision rested with him, yet, since the council was composed of members drawn from the leading landowning families, who were very powerful, it prevented his rule from turning into despotism. But otherwise the rule of the council was directed towards the promotion of the good of the country. When the Sultan was weak, the real power was in the hands of the nobles who were members of this council and who set up or pulled down rulers, declared war or made peace, and even parcelled out the kingdom among themselves. The great authority which they wielded, proved disastrous to the country, for it not only prevented the establishment of a strong, centralised government, but it also led to the formation of cliques, to constant scramble for power, and to civil wars and rebellions. It was a repetition of the conditions which had existed under the Lohara dynasty.

In ordinary matters involving the *Shari'a* the Sultan consulted the *Shaikhu'l-Islam.*[1] But when some serious question of conscience was involved, he convened a council of all the leading jurists of the

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successor.[11] Thus when Yusuf Shah was compelled to give up his throne, he sent the *Taj* to Sayyid Mubarak who was declared by the nobles as Sultan.[12] Similarly, when Ghazi Chak wanted to assume royal powers, the *Taj* was removed from the head of Habib Shah and placed on that of Ghazi who took his seat on the throne.[13]

(d) Chatr and Chauri: The *Chatr* (umbrella) and the *Chauri* (flywhiskers) could not be used by one except the Sultan. These had been the insignia of sovereignty under the Hindu kings and were adopted by the Sultans.[14]

(d) ***Khil'at:*** The right of bestowing robes of honour on nobles, officials and tributaries was reserved for the Sultan. It was an old Persian custom which had been borrowed by the Abbasid Caliphs.[15] Later it had spread to other countries. Other insignia of royalty in Kashmir were the Treasury,[16] The Royal Stable[17] and the Standard.[18] The Chariot had been an emblem of royalty under the Hindu rulers,[19] but it does not seem to have had any significance during the Sultanate period.

The Wazir

Under the early Shah Mir rulers the chief minister was called by the old name of *Sarvadhikara.*[20]

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attempt to introduce other names was regarded by the jurists as *bid'a* (innovation). But from the end of the third century *Hijra,* it became a common practice of the local rulers to have their names also inserted side by side with the name of the Caliph.[5] After the collapse of the Caliphate at Baghdad, however, although the Muslim rulers in general strictly enforced the insertion of their own names in the *khutba,* they gave up the custom of putting in the names of the puppet Abbasid Caliphs of Cairo.[6] We do not know in what relation the Sultan of Kashmir stood with the Egyptian Caliphs, for beyond a reference to an exchange of embassies between Zainu'l-'Abidin and the ruler of Egypt the chronicles do not throw any light on this matter. But there is sufficient evidence to show that in Kashmir, as in other countries under Muslim rule, the name of the reigning monarch was recited in the *khutba,* for the Kashmir Sultans regarded it as an important symbol of authority;[7] and it was only three times during the Sultanate period, that they had to surrender it.[8] Another exclusive privilege of the Sultan was the right to issue money bearing his name and titles.[9] Although the Sultans allowed the names of their predecessors or of the great saints to be inscribed on the coins, they never gave up the right to strike coins except when they had to surrender their sovereign powers. None of the coins of this period bear the name of a Caliph.

(C) ***Crown and Throne:*** To sit on the throne[10] and wear the *Taj* (crown) was the exclusive privilege of the Sultan; and whenever he abdicated, he handed over the crown to his

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were assigned big jagirs. But it is not known if in addition to this they also received any salary.

Diwan-i-Kul

Next to the *Wazir*, the *Diwan-i-Kul* was the most important officer in the kingdom. But his office does not seem to have existed under the early Shah Mirs; it was introduced by Fath Shah who was anxious to reduce the power of the *Wazir*. The latter retained the military, executive and judicial functions, but the power to control the finances was taken away from him and placed in the hands of the *Diwan-i-Kul*.[24] This separation of powers, however, did not serve any purpose for the *Wazirs* remained as powerful as before. Nothing is known of the history of the *Diwan-i-Kul* under the Chaks.

Ministry of Religious Affairs

The *Shaikhu'l-Islam* was the head of the ecclesiastical department of the state. It was during the reign of Sultan Sikandar that this office was for the first time established in Kashmir.[25] The *Shaikhu'l-Islam* was the representative of the *'Ulama*, and his duty was to see that the *Shari'a* law was enforced. Under the circumstance only a person distinguished for his learning and piety was appointed to this office. The *Shaikhu'l-Islam* performed the coronation ceremony, and was the constant adviser of the Sultan on legal and religious matters. Sometimes he also issued decrees on political questions, and these had great weight. Thus

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It was probably in the reign of Zainu'l-'Abidin that he began to be designated as *Wazir*, and by the time of Hasan Shah and Muhammad Shah the new title was in full vogue.[21] The *Wazir* was the head of the civil administration and the highest official in the state. He was the constant adviser of the ruler, and enjoyed his utmost confidence. His powers were great, and therefore upon his ability and wisdom depended the welfare of the people and the stability of the kingdom. Owing to the great importance and prestige of the office, there was a keen competition for it among the nobles. But this aroused jealousies and rivalries which often led to armed conflicts. Since there was no separation of powers, the *Wazirs* were often called upon to lead the campaigns. In the reign of Sultan Sikandar, for example, Suhabhatta was not only the head of the civil administration, but also of the army. This was, however, not always the case. Thus under Shihabu'd-Din while the *Wizarat* and Finance were placed in charge of Udayasri, the command of the army was entrusted to Candra Damara and Laula.[22] During the period of decline of the Shah Mirs the *Wazirs* were invariably military leaders. In fact their ascendancy in the state was due to their military prowess. They were so powerful that they reduced the Sultans to the status of puppets and themselves became *de facto* rulers, presiding over the highest courts of appeal in company with the *Shari'a* magistates,[23] conferring jagirs upon the nobles, appointing or dismissing officers, acted as *Wazirs* of the Shah Mirs, found themselves sufficiently strong to depose the Shah Mir Sultan and assume sovereign powers. In lieu of their services the *Wazirs*

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department. He led the prayers, acted as the chief judge, looked after the charitable and educational endowments, and gave advice to the Sultan on religious matters. He was assisted by a *Mufti,* whose duty was to give rulings according to the Hanafite law.[33] Another officer under the *Qazi* was know as *Mir 'Adl,* who performed semi-magisterial functions. The parties, before going to the *Qazi,* approached the *Mir 'Adl,* who drew up the case, and if it was not a complicated one and the parties agreed, he himself settled the dispute.[31]

Justice was also administered by the Sultan as well as by the *Wazir.* The former acted both as a court of first instance and court of appeal, trying civil as well as criminal cases. But there were no fixed regulations for appeal. Justice was dispensed with by the Sultan sitting in the *Diwan-Khana* in the open durbar every day. Hasan Shah Chak, however, had fixed Monday as the day of the week when he attended court with the *Qazi* and *Mir 'Adl.*[32] But the other Sultans had no fixed days for holding court; they were accessible to the people on every day of the week. They dealt out justice impartially, but the punishments which they inflicted upon the criminals were not always according to the *Shari'a.* Zainu'l-'Abidin, for example, did not favour either the execution of thieves and robbers or the mutilation of their limbs. Instead he made them work on public buildings.[33] Later under his successors capital punishment was re-introduced. For those who were guilty of treason the penalty was prison, death, or mutilation. The last form of punishment was introduced by Ghazi Shah Chak, but later 'Ali Shah abolished it.[34]

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when, in 1532 Mirzada Haidar invaded Kashmir and his soldiers began to devastate the Valley, the *Shaikhu'l-Islam* issued a decree that to fight the invaders and to kill them was a righteous act, and that if any Kashmiri lost his life while resisting the enemy, he would be a martyr. The effect of this pronouncement was that the Kashmiri nobles were roused from their lethargy and began to organise strong resistance to the Mughals.[26]

Besides being an adviser to the Sultan, the *Shaikhu;'l-Islam* was also in charge of the *waqfs* for charitable and educational purposes. From the income of these endowments schools were run, and stipends were given to deserving students, while strangers in the country were provided with food and accommodation until they were able to find some employment.[27] Under the Chaks the duties of the *Shaikhu'l-Islam* were taken over by the *Qazi* of Srinagar, also known as *Qazi'l-Quzat.*[28]

Administration of Justice

The *Qazi* was the highest judicial authority in the state. His office was introduced into Kashmir bySultan Sikandar, probably at the same time as that of the *Shaikhu'l-Islam.* And the first *Qazi* whose name is mentioned in the chronicles was Sayyid Hasan Shirazi, who was appointed as *Qazi* of Srinagar by Sikandar.[29] During the Chak period the prestige and powers of the *Qazi* greatly increased, for he was not only the head of the judicial department but also of the ecclesiastical

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Amir-i-Dar

Amir-i-Dar[42] or Lord Chamberlain, whom Jonaraja calls *Dvarapala,*[43] was an important officer. His post commanded great prestige and was reserved for the Sultan's most trusted nobles. His importance arose from the fact that he was constantly in the company of the Sultan. All petitions to the latter were presented through him, and no one was allowed to enter the royal presence without being introduced by him. He also made arrangements for important celebrations at the court, and was thus the Master of Ceremonies.[44]

Nayaks

The *Nayaks*[45] were the guardians for the passes leading into Kashmir. During the rule of Hindu kings the control of the passes was vested in a single officer who was known as *Dvarapati* or Lord of the Gate.[46] Under the Sultans they were placed under a number of officers called *Nayaks*, who were appointed by the Sultan, and were directly under the central government. Their appointments were sometimes hereditary and, in return for their serivces, they were given jagirs. They had at their disposal a force which was stationed at fortified outposts, and their duty was to see that no one entered the Valley or left it without a *Khatt-i-Rah* (permit).[47] They were also required to defend the Valley from foreign invasions and from the inroads of turbulent hill tribes, the Dards in the north and the Khasas in the south-west.[48] Furthermore, they were to prevent smuggling and collect customs duties on goods

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The Royal Stable

This was an important department. Rival claimants to the throne always tried to seize the horses first. This was because, the cavalry being the most important arm of the army, it was felt that once the royal horses were taken possession of, victory would be easy. Thus we find that Haji Khan, in making his bid for the throne on the eve of his father's death, first seized the Royal Stable.[35] As a result, Adham Khan despaired of success and fled to India. Similarly, to overthrow Daulat Chak, Ghazi Chak had to seize the royal horses.[36] During the Hindu times the office was called *Mahasvasala* (office of the Chief Master of Horse), [37] but it is not known as to what his designation was under the Sultans. Whether he was called *Akhurbek,*[38] as under the Delhi Sultans, the chronicles give us no indication.

Mir Bakhshi

The Mir Bakhshi was the head of the military department, and was therefore an important office. He kept the register of the soldiers, distributed their pay, and was responsible for their recruitment.39 Under the Mughals he possessed considerable powers and influence,40 but he does not seem to have enjoyed the same position and prestige under the Sultans of Kashmir. The first mention of a Mir Bakhshi in the chronicles is in the reign of 'Ali Shah.[41]

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continued to be called by the same title under the early Shah Mirs, but later on he was named *Khazanchi.* The importance of the office depended upon the personality of the man at the head. Thus Hasan, who was the Treasurer of Sultan Zainu'l-'Abidin, played a decisive part in securing the succession for Haji Khan,[58] and, when the latter ascended the throne, he put the mark of royalty on his forehead.[59] There is no evidence of any other Treasurer having played an equally significant role in the affairs of state.

Police: Kotwal and Muhtasib

In the time of the Rajas, Srinagar had a Prefect who was called *Nagaradhipa* or *Nagaradhikrta.*[60] His duty was to collect fines levied on the people by the government, and to look after their morals. He also supervised weights and measures, the trades, and other matters relating to the town. Under the Sultans these duties were performed by the *Kotwal* and the *Muhtasib.* The *Kotwal* was responsible for maintaining law and order in the city, and for protecting the citizens from thieves and robbers. His powers were great, and he could put the thieves to death.[61] In order to discharge his duties efficiently he had a police force at his disposal. The *Muhtasib* supervised the markets, inspected weights and measures and looked after the morals of the people. In addition, it was his duty to see that the public prayers were conducted properly; that intoxicating liquors and drugs were not manufactured or sold publicly; that no one was found drunk in public places; and that gambling and immoral living were not

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exported and imported.[49] Whenever the passes were well defended and in the hands of trustworthy commanders, Kashmir enjoyed immunity from foreign invasions. But whenever their defence was neglected or the *Nayaks* turned traitors, the Valley was easily invaded.

Expionage System

The Sultans kept themselves informed of the activities of their subjects and officials by means of spies. Thus it was through his spies that Haidar Shah came to know of the treacherous designs of his Treasurer, Hasan, and was able to nip the conspiracy in the bud.[50] Under Zainu'l-'Abidin the espionage system was very efficient, and it kept him in touch with the happenings in the remotest parts of the kingdom.[51] Sometimes he himself, like Harun ar-Rashid, changed his dress and roamed in the streets of the capital to find out the condition of his subjects.[52] It was usual to employ prostitutes for spying and securing information.[53] Queens and princes had their own agents.[54] Spies were also kept by the Sultans on the frontiers of the Valley to keep an eye on the activities of the *Nayaks* and to report on the enemy movements beyond.[55]

Khanzanchi[56] *or Khanzana-dar*

As the name implies, the *Khanzanchi* was in charge of the treasury. In Hindu times he was called *Ganjavara*[57] after the Persian *Ganjwar*, and he

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In addition to the above, there were also many other officials and minor departments of the central government. Every department had a secretary called *Dabir.*[67] The king's court of justice, which Jonaraja calls *Dharmadhikara,* had a superintendent who appears to have been a responsible officer.[68] He was a confidant of the Sultan, but his duties are not known. The guardianship of the royal princes was a coveted post for which there was a keen competition. The holder of the office had the status of a minister, and was a member of the Sultan's council. Then there was the Court Astrologer and the Court Physician both of whom enjoyed the Sultan's utmost confidence.[69] There was separate department of music with an officer at its head.[70] The *Purohita* or the Brahman priest was an important person under the early Shah Mirs, but latter his importance declined as his functions were taken over by the *Shaikhu'l-Islam.*[71]

Provincial and Local Government

The only part of the kingdom of Kashmir that was directly governed by the Sultan or his agents consisted of the Kashmir Valley and Lohara. The rest was ruled by its own chiefs who were independent in their internal affairs. The Valley of Kashmir was divided into two provinces, Maraj on (Kamraz) (HNR) the east and Kamraj (Kamraz) (HNR) on the west.[72] Maraj (Maraz) (HNR) comprised the districts on both sides of the Jehlam, and Kamraj (Kamraz) those below.[73] Sopur [Sopore] (HNR) was the headquarters of Kamraj (Kanraz) (HNR).[74]

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carried on. His powers were great in the time of Sikandar and those rulers who were anxious that the practices of the people should conform to Islamic teachings. Under Mirza Haidar Dughlat every part of Srinagar, and every village and pargana in the kingdom had a *Muhtasib* who was required to see that the people prayed five times a day and did not deviate from the precepts of Islam.[62] The *Muhtasib* had no right to hold a formal trial, which could only be done by *Qazi.* But he could initiate cases, and could also give light punishments for ordinary misdemeanours after a summary trial. Serious cases, however, which required proper investigation and legal exposition, were referred to the *Qazi* and *Mufti.* The *Muhtasib* was really an executive officer.[63]

Central Record Department

All the official documents were kept in a separate record office at Srinagar. Until the reign of Sultan Zainu'l-'Abidin, owing to the scarcity of paper, they were written on *bhurja* (the inner bark of the Himalayan birch) with the ink made of powdered charcoal of almonds boiled in *gomutra (Urina Bovis).*[64] The ink thus obtained is not spoilt by damp or water. From the time of Zainu'l-'Abidin paper began to be manufactured in Kashmir, and so, henceforth the documents were written both on the birch-bark and on paper.[65] Besides Srinagar there was also a record office at Sopur [Sopore], the capital of Kamraj (Kamraz). But during the reign of Zainu'l-'Abidin all the previous records were destroyed.[66]

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The espionage department kept the Sultan informed of the affairs of the provinces and of the activities of the provincial and local officials. The records of the government were kept in a record office under the care of a special officer.

The provinces were divided for administrative purpose into small districts called parganas,[77] each under a *Shiqdar*.[78] The number of these parganas was not constant but was changed from time to time by splitting them up or amalgamating them owing to reasons of administration. It is not known what was the number of parganas under Zainu'l-'Abidin or before him. According to *Lokaprakasa* the Valley was divided into twenty-seven *Visayas,* but it is difficult to say to which period this list refers. Moreover, it gives only nineteen names of which only a few can be identified.[79] Under Muhammad Shah, however, the number of parganas was twenty-seven, but their names have not been mentioned.[80] Under Mirza Haidar Dughlat, the number was increased to thirty.[81] According to Abu'l-Fazl, under Akbar, the return of Asaf Khan showed thirty-eight parganas, whilst the earlier one of Qazi 'Ali contained forty-one.[82] Probably the last seems to be the number which existed during the Chak period.

Each pargana comprised a number of villages, whose total in Valley amounted to 60,000[83]. Each village had an accountant or *patwari* who was called in the Hindu times *Gramakayastha*[84]. What he was designated under the Sultans is not known. For the maintenance of law and order there was a police officer

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The government of Srinagar was directly under the Sultan, while the two provinces were administered by governors called *Hakims,* who generally belonged to the royal family.[75] Thus Zainu'l-'Abidin appointed his son Adham as governor of Kamraj (Kamraz), and later Haidar Shah conferred upon his son Hasan the same province as jagir.[76] Under the later Shah Mirs, the Valley was divided among three or four feudal chiefs who were responsible for the administration of their respective areas. But the general supervision of the kingdom continued to be vested in the *Wazir* who ruled in the name of the puppet Sultan.

The provincial government was replica of the central government. The *Hakim* was required to maintain law and order, collect revenue and dispense justice. Being the head of the civil and military administration of the province, his powers were great; and as there were no constitutional checks on him, it was not unusual for him to defy the authority of the centre. To prevent this the Sultans appointed such persons as governors whom they could trust. But they were not always successful in their choice, and consequently rebellions were a matter of common occurrence.

The *Qazi* was the head of the judiciary of the province, and was appointed by the centre. Under him there were *Qazis* and *Muftis* in every town and pargana. But there was no *Mir 'Adl* who was only appointed in Srinagar. The *Kotwal* and *Muhtasib* were in charge of the safety and morals of the inhabitants of the town.

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deprived of all his powers, and the Valley was divided by the nobles among themselves as their private estate, he was still left in possession of the crown lands.

Lohara

The territory of Lohara had been subject to the Hindu kings of Kashmir since ancient times., but during the period of their decline it had become independent. It was reconquered by Sultan Shihabu'd-Din only to reassert its independence during the last years of his reign. Qutbu'd-Din tried to bring it under his rule, but without success; and it was not until the time of Zainu'l-'Abidn that it was once again reduced. It was he who abolished the reigning dynasty, and hence forth, till the end of the Sultanate, Lohara was directly governed from Srinagar through a governor. Haji Khan, the Sultan's second son, was appointed its first governor in 1452[89].

Tributary States

The tributary states comprised Pakhli, the Kishanganga Valley, Ladakh, Baltistan, Kishtwar and all the territory of the outer hills from the Ravi on the east to the Jehlam on the west. The rulers of these states looked upon the Kashmir Sultan as their suzerain, paid him tribute, gave their daughters in marriage to him or to the heir-apparent, and secured from him sanction for the succession to the throne[90]. They also supplied him with troops in the case of war, presented themselves at the court on the occasion of the accession of a new

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called *Sarhang Zada* who had under him a group of villages[85]. Under him were the Candalas who swept the houses in the day and acted as village watchmen in the night, and for this service they were given food by the villagers[86]. In the time of Mirza Haidar every village had also *Muhtasib* whose duty was to see that the inhabitants Lived a life in conformity with Islamic teachings. The chronicles do not tell us if the institution of *panchayat* existed, nor do they mention the existence of the village headman.

Vassal Chiefs:-

The vassal chiefs belonged to the landowning families like the Magres, Rainas, Chaks, Bats, and Dars. They were assigned big jagirs, which could be passed on from father to son. In return they wererequired to pay revenue to the Sulatn, to serve in the government, and to render him military aid in time of war. But since the chiefs were very powerful, possessing a large body of retainers, they were a great source of danger to the state. They constantly rose in rebellion and prevented the growth of a strong, centralised government. Under weak Sultans they even appropriated large areas of the country to themselves[87]. And since they were exempted from paying land revenue and other taxes,[88] the income derived from the rest of the kingdom could not have been enough to run an efficient administration.

Khalisa Lands

These were the crown lands which were directly administered by the Sultans. Even when the latter was

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why an attempt to seize the throne was usually preceded by the capture of the royal stable. Elephants were also employed,[93] but as they had to be imported from India through difficult passes, their number was necessarily small, and their role in the army was therefore not important.

The provincial troops were stationed in the various provincial towns. Their number varied according to the strategic importance of the place. Then there were the garrisons in the frontier forts or watchstations (*drangas*) at the head of the passes,[94] which were under their respective commanders called *Nayaks*. There were also garrisons in the forts built inside the Valley at strategic places like Nagam, Lar, Andarkot, Chiraodar, Manar and Biru.

The feudal levies were the forces which the nobles supplied the Sultan in the time of war. Each contingent was under the command of its own chief. The rulers of Rajauri, Jammu, Kishtwar and other tributary states also furnished troops. Volunteers were called out in times of emergency when the Valley was threatened by a foreign invasion. Usually the response to the Sultan's appeal was favourable, and the people rallied to the defence of their country.

Weapons

The weapons commonly employed were sword, bow and arrow, spear, battle-axe and mace. The soldiers wore coats of mail, while the horses were caparisoned with steel. Srivara refers to a weapon,

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Sultan, and participated in the coronation ceremomes at the conclusion of which they received gifts and *khil'ats*[91]. In the internal administration of their states, however, they were entirely free. Interference was only deemed necessary in case of a rebellion when the army was sent to reduce them to obedience. During the reigns of weak Sultans, the chiefs invariably asserted their independence and withheld payment of tribute.

The Army

The army under the Sultans consisted of (1) The Standig Army (2) Provincial Troops (3) Feudal Levies (4) Volunteers.

The first category of troops was under the Sultan's direct control and employment, and was recruited from amongst the Khasas, Rajputs, Sayyids, Magres, Chaks, Rainas and others, who had the reputation of being good soldiers. The Dombas, too, were enlisted and were known to be stubborn fighters, but they had one great defect. They were unreliable, and at the least opportunity they turned aside from the battle and started plundering. The standing army was stationed at the capital, and in the time of war the Sultan marched at its head to repel the enemy, and detached a part of it under a separate commander. The army comprised foot and cavalry. The horsemen rode on ponies, but the officers rode on horses imported from Turkistan and 'Iraq, for Kashmir itself did not breed horses of good quality.[92] Owing to the mountainous nature of the country, the cavalry was the most important arm of the fighting forces, and that is

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Bahadur.[102] Subsequently in the war of succession between Yusuf Shah and Abdal Chak muskets were used, for the latter is said to have been wounded by a shot.[103] Yusuf Shah's army, which was organised to resist the Mughal invasion under Raja Bhagwan Das, is said to have had 7,000 musketeers, but the number appears to be highly exaggerated.[104]

Mode of Fighting

From the very scanty information that is available regarding the military organisation under the Sultans, it appears that the army was divided into five corps: centre, two wings, vanguard and rearguard.[105] In the front were sometimes the elephants.[106] Unlike modern times, the commander of the army himself led the attack. If he was killed, the next in command took the field.[107] Sometimes there were single combats as a result of the challenge from one side to the other.[108] After this there was a general melee. The spirit of the soldiers was roused by the beating of kettle drums.[109] The troops did not wear any special dress, but bore some mark by which they could be distinguished from the enemy.[110] In addition to this they carried banners which were of blood-red colour.[111]

The most common method of warfare in which the Kashmiris excelled was the surprise attack usually delivered before dawn. It was employed both in the civil wars and against the foreign invaders. It was these surprise attacks which wore down Mirza Haidar, and inflicted great losses on Qasim Khan, Akbar's General. They were, in fact, always employed where it was felt

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made for the first time in Kashmir in the time of Zainu'l-'Abidin, which "destroys forts, pierces the hearts of men, strikes horses with terror, throws balls of stone from a distance, and remains unseen by the soldiers from encampments". [95] At another place he says that the Sultan's army was "furnished with weapons like lightning, showering forth arrows with deep and prolonged roar".[96] This account gave occasion to the surmise in later times that these weapons were cannons using gunpowder.[97] But it must be remembered that Srivara, being a poet, was very often carried away by his imagination, and so his description must not be taken too literally. Moreover, he nowhere mentions *ayoguda* (gunpowder); he only refers to the use of *ksara*.[98] Thus there is no reliable evidence to show that gunpowder was known in the time of Zainu'l-'Abidin. What really must have been employed is the Greek Fire or naphtha which also produced, like the gunpowder, considerable sound;[99] and the weapon invented was not a cannon but some kind of a mechanical device by which fire-missiles or stones could be discharged.[100] However, these weapons, on account of the difficulties of their manufacture, were rarely employed. That is why there is no reference o them in the civil war between Muhammad Shah and Fath Shah or in the war of resistance against Mirza Haidar.[101] It was in the time of the later Shah Mirs or the Chaks that gunpowder came to be known in Kashmir, but even then its use was on a restricted scale. It appears that Ghazi shah was the first Sultan to possess a cannon which he employed against Qara

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Finance

The information existing in the chronicles about the fiscal affairs under the Sultans is very meagre. It is, however, clear that the system of taxation did not always conform to the *Shari'a.* The main heads of revenue were: (1) *Kharaj (2) Jizya (3) Zakat* and Customs Duty (4) other taxes (5) Assignments and Tribute. There was one fort in Naushadar (Srinagar)

Kharja was realised both from Muslims and non-Muslims, for there is no evidence to suggest that the former were exempted from it and paid only an *'ushr* i.e. one-tenth[112]. When Shah Mir ascended the throne he fixed the revenue demand at one-sixth of the produce of land[113]. He fixed it at such a low rate partly in order to win the goodwill of the people, and partly because he realised that, since the material prosperity of the Valley had been declining for over two hundred years, the paying capacity of the peasant was very low. But under his successors the revenue demand was increased to one-third, and generaly speaking this remained the rate of assessment through out the Sultanate period[114]. In case there were famines or floods the government in the reign of Zainu'l-'Abidin, the Sultan reduced the rent to one-fourth, and in some places like Zainagar to one-seventh[115].

According to Mirza Haidar Daghlat land in Kashmir was divided into four kinds: *Abi, Lalmi, Baghi,* and meadow lands.[116] The first was the land which grew crops with the help of irrigation. Assessment

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that, owing to the inferiority in numbers, a pitched battle would not be successful.

The guerilla type of warfare also found great favour with the Kashmiris. It was employed whenever the country was subjected to a foreign invasion. The Kashmiri chiefs would then escape to the mountains and carry on resistance from there. They would cut off the supplies of the enemy, swoop down upon him from their mountain hideouts, and thus compel him to make peace and withdraw.

The forts which were situated at various strategic places, did not play any direct part either in the civil wars or at the time of foreign invasion. Wars were fought in the narrow mountain defiles and passes or on the plain, and the forts served only as stations from which the garrison could sally forth to attack the enemy. They were never employed to check the progress of the invading army which, in consequence, never stopped to besiege them. It is significant to remember that Srinagar itself did not posses a fort.* The battle for its capture was fought either in the neighbourhood or in the city itself. During the civil wars it was a common practice to destroy the bridges over the Jehlam in order to defend the city. But this method was rarely effective, for an enterprising commander was always able to force his way across the river.

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But even this was not collected, and the same was the practice under his successors[123]. When, however, Fath Shah became ruler for the second time his prime minister, Musa Raina, reimposed it under the influence of Shamsu'd-Din, and it continued to be collected during the regime of Daulat Chak, the prime minister of Sultan Isma'il Shah II, and later under the Chak rulers[124]. But Yusuf Shah abolished it[125]. Ya'qub Shah, however, must have reimposed it, for when Akbar annexed Kashmir, it was being realised from the Hindus and was finally abolished by him[126].

Zakat and Customs Duty

The Zakat (Poor Tax) was collected from the Muslims according to the rates prescribed by the *Shari'a*. The Sufis and the *'Ulama* of Kashmir never ceased exhorting the people to pay the *Zakat*[127]. This shows that it was not an obligatory but a voluntary tax. However, in the reigns of some Sultans it was realized by the state just like other taxes. Thus under Sultan Sikandar every one paid the *Zakat*[128]. Similarly Yusuf Shah realised it from every person except the boatmen, who were regarded as too poor to pay it[129]. It is not known whether the *Zakat* was deposited in a separate treasury or was lumped together with the secular taxes. Nor has it been recorded as to how it was spent. Probably most of the money which the Sultans gave away to the poor, or spent in providing food and shelter to the travelers, the students, and the needy, came from the *Zakat*. According to the *Shari'a* the realisation of customs duty is forbidden, for the only legal taxes are

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on this was heavier than on other types. The second kind of land depended upon the natural rainfall. Since this could not be controlled, such lands were lightly taxed. The third kind on which fruit trees were planted were lightly taxed. The third kind on which fruit trees were planted were exempted from taxation under the Shah Mirs[117]. But although the early Chak rulers imposed a tax on gardens, it was abolished by Yusuf Shah[118]. The fourth kind, namely the meadow lands on the banks of rivers, were also not taxed, because they were swampy, and so were not fit for cultivation[119].

Each village was assessed at so many *kharwars* of rice, and the produce could not be removed from the threshing floor by the villagers until the State's share had been taken from it. The grain was stored by the government in the granaries built in the towns for the purpose, and then sold to the non-agricultural population at fixed prices. In this way prices were kept steady, and, in times of scarcity, cornering of grain was prevented, and people were enabled to buy it cheap[120].

Jizya

No evidence exists in the chronicles to suggest that the *Jizya* was realized from the non-Muslims by the Shah Mir rulers before Sultan Sikandar. It was he who for the first time imposed it in order that his administration might conform to Islamic practices[121]. When Zainu'l-'Abidin, came to the throne he reduced the *Jizya* from two *pals* of silver[122], collected under his father to the nominal amount of one masha of silver.

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But even this was not collected, and the same was the practice under his successors[123]. When, however, Fath Shah became ruler for the second time his prime minister, Musa Raina, reimposed it under the influence of Shamsu'd-Din, and it continued to be collected during the regime of Daulat Chak, the prime minister of Sultan Isma'il Shah II, and later under the Chak rulers[124]. But Yusuf Shah abolished it[125]. Ya'qub Shah, however, must have reimposed it, for when Akbar annexed Kashmir, it was being realised from the Hindus and was finally abolished by him[126].

Zakat and Customs Duty

The Zakat (Poor Tax) was collected from the Muslims according to the rates prescribed by the *Shari'a*. The Sufis and the *'Ulama* of Kashmir never ceased exhorting the people to pay the *Zakat*[127]. This shows that it was not an obligatory but a voluntary tax. However, in the reigns of some Sultans it was realized by the state just like other taxes. Thus under Sultan Sikandar every one paid the *Zakat*[128]. Similarly Yusuf Shah realised it from every person except the boatmen, who were regarded as too poor to pay it[129]. It is not known whether the *Zakat* was deposited in a separate treasury or was lumped together with the secular taxes. Nor has it been recorded as to how it was spent. Probably most of the money which the Sultans gave away to the poor, or spent in providing food and shelter to the travelers, the students, and the needy, came from the *Zakat*. According to the *Shari'a* the realisation of customs duty is forbidden, for the only legal taxes are

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and the *Zakat* on boatmen[138]. This means that either all the taxes had not been abolished at one stroke of the pen, or they were reimposed in the subsequent reigns, for we find the rulers abolishing them again and again. When the Mughals conquered the Valley they also claimed to have abolished many of the vexatious taxes like *Baj* and *Tamgha,* the levy of two dams on fuel, poll-tax from the boatmen, and sheep from the villagers[139].

Mines were another source of income. But no details of this are found in the chronicles. We only know that the people collected gold particles from the sandy banks of rivers. The share of the state was one-sixth in the time of Zainu'i-'Abidn, and probably the subsequent rulers also realised it at the same rate.[140].

Assignments and Tribute

The practice of giving jagirs to nobles and officials was common in Hindu times. When, however, Shah Mir established his rule, he refrained from giving assignments indiscriminately, for he thought that this made the nobles strong and encouraged rebellions. But his successors did not follow this policy, and liberally gave away jagirs. Under the later Shah Mirs the nobles, who were the *de facto* rulers of the country, compelled the Sultans to assign them, with the exception of the crown lands, the whole Valley, which they divided among themselves. When the Chaks established their dynasty they expropriated these assignments and granted fresh ones to their courtiers and officials. These jagirs were hereditary and managed by their holders.

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Zakat, Kharaj and *Jizya*[130]. But since the customs duty was collected at the frontiers, the jurists resolved this contradiction between theory and practice by bringing the customs duty under the heading of *Zakat.* Accordingly after the Muslim merchant had paid the *Zakat* he was allowed to cross the froniter[131]. But in Kashmir, in addition to this, he had also to pay a duty on articles of import and export at the customs-posts which were known as *Rah-dari*[132]. The Hindu merchants also the Zakat n an obligatory tax, which the rich habe to pay it their wealth in proportionate to the amount texable according to Sharia.had to pay duties on their goods. And, as we have seen, the guardians of the passes were there to see that there was no smuggling, and that duty was realised from every trader[133].

Other Cesses

Under the Rajas all kinds of taxes had been realised from the people. The villagers who did not turn up to carry their allotted loads, were fined to the value of the latter. Only the priests of the temples were exempted from the corvee [134]. Fees were realised for such events as marriages, feasts and festivals[135] and taxes were imposed on boatmen, artisans, cows, and even on night soil[136]. When Shah Mir seized power he cancelled many of the exactions of former times. Similarly Sultan Sikandar abolished *Baj* and *Tamgha,*[137] while Sultan Zainu'l-'Abidin, abolished other extra taxes, and prohibited his officers from imposing arbitrary fines upon the people. Later Yusuf Shah abolished the taxes on artisans, cows and gardens,

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REFERENCE:

1. Jonar., p. 86.
2. See p. 137 *supra.*
3. See pp. 155-56, *supra.*
4. See Appendix B for the titles of the Sultans.
5. Siddiqi, *Caliphate and Kingship in Medieval Persia.* pp. 34. 39 sq.
6. Arnold, *The Caliphate,* chapt. Viii.
7. H.M., ff. 171b, 180a.
8. See pp. 129, 142, 161, *supra.*
9. H.M.,f f. 171b.
10. Temple, *The Word of Lalla,* p. 211; Sriv., p. 207.
11. B.S., ff. 132b, 140a.
12. H.M., f. 174a; B.S., f. 148b.
13. N.A., f. 76b; N.K., f. 36b.
14. Temple, The Word of Lalla, pp. 210-11; also Jonar., p. 76, and Sriv., p. 267. For Chatr see also B.S. f. 148b.
15. The first Muslim ruler to have started the practice of giving away khil'ats was Harun ar-Rashid. (Dozy, Noms des Vetements chez les Arabs, p. 14).
16. See p. 80, *supra.*
17. Sriv., p. 173; Munich MS., f. 77a; H.M., f. 152b.

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But they could be confiscated in case of disloyalty on the part of the jagirdars.[141]

The tribute realised from the neighbouring states, subject to Kashmir, was uncertain, for it depended upon the ability of the central government to enforce the demand. The tribute was generally paid in kind. Thus from Ladakh and Baltistan the Sultans received wool and leather[142], and from Kishtwar they got saffron[143]

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32. See p. 158 *supra.*

33. See p. 84, *supra.*

34. See p. 161 *supra*

35. Sriv., p. 173; Munich MS., f. 77a.

36. H.M., f. 152b.

37. Stein, BK., iv. Nos. 142-3.

38. Qureshi, *Administration of the Sultanate of Delhi*, p. 71.

39. H.M., f. 189b.

40. Ibn Hasan, *Central Structure of the Mughal Empire*, p. 215.

41. Munich MS., f. 66a.

42. T.A., iii, 448, calls him *Hajib-i -Dar.*

43. Sriv., p. 208. Kalhana calls him *Mahapratiharapida.* (Stein, BK. iv, Nos. 142-43).

44. Compare him with *Amir Hajib* or *Barbek* of the Delhi Court. See Qureshi, *Administration of the Sultanate of Delhi*, pp. 61-2.

45. Sriv., pp. 310, 313; Suka, p. 405; A.N., iii, 764. Stein is wrong in saying that they were called Maliks. Malik was in reality a title conferred by the Sultans upon their officials.

46. Other of its equivalents were *Dvaradhipa, Dvaresa* etc., (Stein, BK. v, No. 214).

47. *Tuhfatu 'l-Ahbab*, p. 64; Jonar., p. 66; Sriv., p. 271.

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18. Jonar., p. 75; Sriv., p. 107.

19. Temple, *The Word of Lalla*, p. 211.

20. Stein, BK. v, No. 214; BK. vi, No. 199 and n.

21. S.A., p. 40. But Srivara calls the chief minister as saciva. (Sriv., BK. 3, No. 23).

22. B.S., f. 19a. Under Hasan Shah, Malik Ahmad was in charge of the civil administration, and Tazi Bat was the commander-in-chief (Sriv., p. 238).

23. H.M., f. 131b; B.S., ff. 81b-82a.

24. Munich MS., ff. 82b-83a; T.A., iii, 457-8.

25. Mu'inu'd-Din Miskin, *Ta'rikh-i-Kabir*, p. 289, says that Mulla Ahmad 'Allama, who came to Kashmir from Turkistan with Bulbul Shah, was the first person in Kashmir to hold the office of *Shaikhu'l-Islam* under Shamsu'd-Din I. But this is not corroborated by any reliable authority. Besides, it seems unlikely for such an institution to have been introduced at such an early date.

26. See p. 127, *supra*.

27. B.S. f. 34b; H.M., f. 119b.

28. W.K., ff. 52a, 60a.

29. B.S., f. 31b.

30. T.A., iii, 495. On one occasion, under Husain Shah, Shafi'ite law was also applied (See p. 156,*supra*). Muftis were killed during Husain Shah's reign for giving a wrong *fatwa*.

31. For Mir 'Adl see H.M., 159b, and compare him with *Shahid* (Metz, *Renaissance of Islam*,pp. 227-29).

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REFERENCE

64. Buhler, *Report of Tour* (J.A.S.B., xii 1876), pp. 29-30.

65. The documents continued to be written on *bhurja* down to the 17th century. (Stein, BK. vii, No. 508).

66. Sriv., pp. 155-6.

67. Stein, BK. v. No. 177.

68. Jonar. (Bo. ed.), Nos. 1306.

69. See p. 88, *supra,* for the position of the Court Astrologer and Court Physician under Zainu'l-'Abidin. Compare Stein, BK. i, Nos. 118-19.

70. Under Hasan Shah, Srivara was the head of the Music Department.

71. This change took place in the time of Sikandar.

72. A.A., ii, 367. In Hindu times the divisions were called Madavarajya and Kramarajya. (Stein, ii, 436).

73. Stein, ii, 436.

74. *Ibid.*, Sriv., p. 156.

75. In Hindu times the governor was called *Mandalesa.* (Stein, BK. viii, No. 1117).

76. See p. 96, *supra.*

77. These were called *Visayas* in Hindu times. (Stein, ii, 437); also Sriv. (Bo. ed.), BK. iv, No. 570.

78. Firishta, p. 657; T.H., ii, f. 96a.

79. *Indische Studien,* xviii, p. 370; Stein, ii, 437 and n. 6.

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48. Stein, ii, p. 392.

49. Jonar., p. 97.

50. See p. 96, *supra.*

51. Sriv., p. 101.

52. H.M., f. 121b; Hasan, f. 122a.

53. Nasib, ff. 205b sqq.

54. Jonar., p. 43.

55. Suka, p. 350.

56. H.M., f. 159b.

57. Stein, BK. v, No. 177 and n. Under Lalitaditya he was called *Mahabhan-dagara* (Stein, BK. iv, No. 143). Sriv. (Bo. ed.), BK. 2. No. 24, calls him *Kosesa.*

58. See p. 80, *supra,*

59. Sriv., p. 184.

60. Jonar. (Cal. ed.), No. 886; In verse No. 945 he is called *Adhikari.*

61. Sriv., p. 279. In one instance he even supervised the construction of a bridge. (Jonar., p. 89).

62. Nasib, f. 512a.

63. For further details of the duties of the *Muhtasib,* see Qureshi, *Administration of the Sultanate of Delhi,* pp. 164-7; also Von Kramer, *Orient under the Caliphs,* pp. 292 sqq. (Trans. Khuda Bakhsh).

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96. *Ibid.*, p. 112.

97. J.A.S.B., xiv, p. 36. Srivara uses the word *vajra* which means weapon and not cannon. (Sriv., BK. I, chap. i, Nos.72 sq.).

98. Sriv. (Bo. ed.), BK. I, chap. iv, Nos. 19 sq. *Ksara* means saltpetre. There is again a reference to *ksara* in verse No.28.

99. J.A.S.B.,xiv, p. 36. It is important to note that Muslim writers confused *naft (naphta)* with *barud* (gunpowder). See a discussion of this in David Ayalon, *Gunpowder and Firearms in the Mamluk Kingdom*, pp. 9 sq.

100 J.A.S.B.,xiv, pp. 40, 42. See W.K., f. 49b, for the stone which was thrown on the Khanqah-i-Mu'alla and which damaged the roof. H.M., f. 151a is wrong in saying that it was a cannon ball.

101. According to B.S., f. 83b, there were 20 muskets used in Kashmir during the civil war between Muhammad Shah and Fath Shah.

102. Suka (Bo. ed.), No. 460. The word *topha* is used by Srivara which is a corrupt form of *top* meaning cannon.

103. A.A. (Blochmann), p. 535.

104. H.M., f. 189b.

105. *Ibid.*, f. 144a; A.N., iii, 770.

106. *Ibid.*, f. 156a. See Stein, BK. vii, Nos. 553-5, for the employment of elephants under the kings of Kashmir.

107. B.S., f. 92b.

108. *Ibid.*

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80. Sriv., (Bo. ed.), BK. iv, No. 570.

81. Nasib, f. 513b.

82. A.A., ii, 367; *Haft Iqlim,* f. 156a, gives the number of parganas as 32 and their income as 3 crore *tankas.*

83. Jonar. (Bo. ed.), No. 153.

84. Stein, BK. v., No. 175.

85. Nur-nama ,f. 192b.

86. Hasan, f. 90a; ;H.M. (B.N.), f. 31a. Compare the Candalas with the Doms of Lawrence, *Valley,* p. 228. Under the Rajas also the Candalas acted as watchmen. (Stein, BK. viii, No. 309).

87. Sriv., p. 303.

88. *Ibid.*, p. 304.

89. See p. 75. *Supra.* In 1530 we find that Muhammad Shah, when he became Sultan for the fourth time, collecting taxes from Lohara. (Suka, p. 368).

90. Sriv., p. 123.

91. Sriv., p. 284.

92. *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri,* ii, 148.

93. H.M., ff. 156a-b. For the employment of elephants under Harsa of Kashmir, see Stein, BK., vii, Nos. 1553-5.

94. Stein, BK. viii, No. 2010 and n.

95. Sriv., p. 105.

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REFERENCE

125. H.M., f. 182b; also H.M. (B.N.), f. 59a.

126. Suka, pp. 420-21.

127. Sayyid 'Ali, *Zakhiratu'l-Muluk*, ff. 2b, 14b; Nasib, f. 222a.

128. Munich MS., f. 64b, says that Sikandar exempted the merchants from the *Zakat*, but this is apocryphal.

129. H.M., f. 182b.

130. Aghnides, *Muhammadan Theories of Finance*, p. 200.

131. *Ibid.*, pp. 261 sqq.

132. J.A.S.B., lxiv, pp. 385-6.

133. Jonar., p. 97. Hindu and Muslim merchants alike had to pay customs duty.

134. Stein, BK., v, No. 174 and n.

135. *Ibid.*, BK. vii, No. 42; BK. viii, No. 1428.

136. *Ibid.*, BK. vii, No. 1107.

137. See p. 62, *supra*, for *Baj* and *Tamgha*.

138. H.M., f. 182b.

139. A.A., ii, 367. Moorcroft, *Travels*, pp. ii, 126-7, says that during his time bakers, butchers, boatmen, scavengers and even prostitutes were taxed.

140. See p. 83, *supra*.

141. Sriv., p. 244.

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109. Sriv., p. 288; Suka, p. 386.

110. Sriv., p. 293.

111. Jonar., p. 75; Sriv., p. 207.

112. In Kashmir no '*ushri* lands existed. Muslims and Hindus alike were subjected to the same rates of taxation. In the chronicles the word *kharaj* (land revenue) is constantly used.

113. Munich MS., f. 53b.

114. A.A., ii, 366.

115. Sriv., p. 156.

116. T.R., (MS.), f. 155a; also A.A., ii, 352n. 3.

117. T.R., p. 425.

118. H.M., f. 182b.

119. T.R., p. 425.

120. Sriv., p. 119; Munich MS., f. 75b. See also Stein, BK. viii, No. 61, for conditions under the Rajas; also BK. viii, Nos. 1245-7n.

121. H.M., f. 113b. According to Jonar., p. 69, Brahmans had to pay a fine for retaining their caste. This was, in fact, nothing else but the *jizya*.

122. See p. 87, *supra*.

123. *Ibid.*

124. Sriv., pp. 388, 420.

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CHAPTER XIIO

SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC CONDITIONS

THE spread of Islam in Kashmir from the latter of the fourteenth century onwards brought about a great transformation in the life of the people. The cultural contacts that were established with Persia and Turkistan and the influx of a large number of Muslims from those countries also e0ffected profound social changes. But despite this foreign impact, which was far-reaching, links with the past were not broken, for the Kashmiris refused to give up their beliefs and practices completely. That is why throughout the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries there was a constant conflict between those who wanted to cling to their traditional manners and customs, and those who were eager to introduce the Perso-Islamic way of life. In the end, however, the conflict was resolved by the fusion of the old and the new. This resulted in the emergence of a society in which the old ideas and institutions were mixed up with the new.

Society

Society in Kashmir during the Hindu times was divided into four castes. But these divisions were not as rigid as in India. It was, for example, not uncommon for the rulers to take Domba girls or prostitutes as their wives and make them their chief queens[1]. There were also instances of low-born persons rising to the highest position in the state. Nevertheless, the Brahmans occupied a privileged position. Those who were in charge of temples were exempt from corvee and taxation[2]. The Brahman priests very often interfered in

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142. Bernier, *Travels in the Mughal Empire*, p. 420. During the reign of Ibrahim Shah, the Ladakhis paid as revenue 500 horses, 1000 pieces of pattu, 50 yaks and 200 tolas of gold. (T.A., iii, 481).

143. H.M., f. 167b.

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the old rigidity. Islam no doubt provided a unifying and leavening force, and the Sufis tried to bridge the gulf between the different classes, but, owing to the economic disparities and functional differences, real social equality could not be achieved.

Nobility

At the head stood the Sultan and his family. Next came the nobles who were the heads of such families as Chaks, Magres, Rainas, Dars and Bats. They held big jagirs and the highest posts in the government. Their titles, privileges and jagirs, unlike those of the Mughal nobles, were hereditary, and could not be taken away from them except in case of disloyalty. Owing to their wealth and position the nobles employed a large number of retainers. They were generally men of culture, and patronized men of learning. They built religious edifices and gave endowments for educational purposes. Moreover, they supplied from their ranks the chief civil and military officers to the state, and protected it against foreign aggression. But they spent most of their energies in intriguing against one another to secure the king's favour; or, if the latter was weak, to usurp his functions and even to supplant him. It is in this way that the Chaks replaced the Shah Mirs, and founded their own dynasty. But the change did not put an end to the feudal rivalries and scramble for power. In fact the civil conflicts became so accentuated as to lead to foreign invasions, and to the eventual loss of Kashmir's independence.

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the affairs of the kingdom, and if they disapproved of anything, thy fasted until the powers that be were coerced into surrender[3].

With the spread of Islam, the status and influence of the Brahmans gradually declined, for their place was taken by Sayyids, *'Ulama,. Pirs,* and other groups among the Muslims. Another important change that took place was that, with the exception of the Brahmans who resisted conversion, the members belonging to all other castes embraced Islam. As a result only one caste, namely, that of the Brahmans, survived, while the other three castes disappeared. However, many of the converts did not give up their surnames. Thus persons who bear the titles of Kauls, Bats, Aitus, Mantus, Gana'is and Rainas (Razdan) are the descendants of Brahmans; while those who are called Magres, Dars (Hindu Dars or Dhars), Rainas (Rajputs), Rathors, Thakurs, Nayaks, and Chaks have a Ksatriya origin. [4] But there were some who after conversion gave up their caste names, and so began to be called by the profession which they adopted. [5] The Brahmans, who clung to their religion and caste, became divided in the course of time into two sub-castes: the Karkuns who studied Persian and entered government service and Bhasa Bhatta who studied Sanskrit and looked after the religious affairs of the community. [6]

Although divisions in Kashmir society based on caste disappeared for the most part, they were replaced by class distinctions which, in certain cases, retained

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(a) *'Ulama:* Islam as taught by the Prophet Muhammad had no ordained clergy. However, with the rescension of the Qur'an and the *Hadis* (Hadith), those learned in them assumed almost the position of ordained clergy as doctors and interpreters of law. And because of the latter function, combined with their profound learning and piety, the *'Ulama* commanded great respect among the people. Moreover, Muhammad was reputed (reported) to have said that the *'Ulama* must be honoured for they are the successors of the prophets, and that he who honours them honours the Prophet of Islam and Allah thereby.[9] Thus in Kashmir, as in other Muslim countries, the *'Ulama* were held in high respect. From among them were recruited the *Qazis, Muftis,* and *Shaikhu'l-Islams.* In theory the democratic principles were carried into effect in this class, but in practice there was a strong hereditary tendency. Many of the *'Ulama* were of foreign origin, and were learned in Muslim theology, logic and *Hadis (Hadith).* The Kashmiri *'Ulama* after studying at the feet of some learned and pious man in Srinagar proceeded to Samarqand, Herat or Mecca, and returned after having undergone a course of training abroad. It was only then that they were regarded as full-fledged jurists. The *'Ulama,* as a rule, led a simple and pious life. They held aloft the principles of the *Shari'a,* and fought against any accretions and innovations in Islam. Their interest was, however, not confined merely to social and religious problems; they also sometimes took an active part in the politics of their day.

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The families which played a distinguished part the Muslim period were either of foreign origin or emerged into prominence under the Sultans. The Chaks entered Kashmir in the reign of Suhadeva, while the Baihaqi Sayyids came in the time of Sikandar. The Rainas, Magres, Dars, and other families were of indigenous origin, but, with the exception of the first, the rest assumed importance only during the Muslim period. The princes were always called by the title of Khan, but sometimes the nobles had also 'Khan' attached to their names. Other titles that were conferred upon the nobles by the Sultans were Malik, Amiru'l-Umara', Khan-i-Zaman, Mirza,[7] and Shaukat Jung.

The Sultans married within the families of Chaks, Magres and the Baihaqi Sayyids, but they also entered into matrimonial alliances with the families of the Rajas of Jammu, Kishtwar, and Rajauri and those of the rulers of Pakhli and Sindh. The nobles generally married within their own families, but marriages between different families were not uncommon.[8] Although birth was an important factor in determining one's station in life, yet society was not a closed circle, for we find individuals of humble origin and families, unknown before, emerging into prominence by their ability and energy.

The Religious Class

After the nobles came the religious classes composed of the *'ulama* or theologians, the Sayyids, the Sufis and their descendants.

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Bpatriotism, succeeded in removing from themselves the taint which they carried as foreigners and in establishing their confidence among the people. After this they played an important role in the social and political history of the Valley.

(C) *Sufis*

The *Pirs* with their *Murids* formed an important group in medieval Kashmir, and exercised greater influence on the social, religious, and cultural life of the country than the '*Ulama*. They were looked upon with great reverence by all classes of people because of their great learning and piety, but above all because they were supposed to possess miraculous powers. They led a life of simplicity, but they did not renounce the world or isolate themselves from the people and their problems. On the contrary, most of them led a normal life, had wives and children, and took an active interest in the affairs of the community.[10] Sayyid 'Ali Hamadani held the opinion that Muslims should limit their desires according to the dictates of religion, but they should not annihilate them like the Hindu Sadhus or Muslim Faqirs.[11] He denounced the practice of crippling one's hands or feet, or unnecessarily inflicting bodily sufferings upon oneself. He believed in a balanced life, a golden mean.[12]

The *Pir* lived in the *Khanqah*,[13] built and endowed for him by the princes and nobles, with his family and his professional followers[14] who worshipped with him and were taught by him how to attain mystic experience.

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(b) *Sayyids*

In the fourteenth century a large number of Sayyids sought shelter in Kashmir in order to escape from the wrath of first the Mongols and then of Timur. They were attracted to the Valley owing to the peace that prevailed there compared to the social and political upheavals that were characteristic of Central Asia and Persia during this period. Moreover, they also came on account of the patronage that was extended to them by the Sultans. And the process of immigration once begun continued down to the fall of the Sultanate.

Owing to their descent from Muhammad, through his daughter Fatima, a special sanctity was attached to the Sayyids among the Muslims. They were treated with special respect and the kings and nobles conferred upon them all kinds of privileges. Some of the Sayyids who came to Kashmir were jurists and were appointed *Qazis* and *Muftis* by the Sultans. Some took to the profession of teaching; others were men of piety and supplied recruits to the ranks of *Pirs* and *Murshids* who acted as the spiritual preceptors of the ignorant masses. A few found their way into the villages and became agriculturists. There were still others, like the Baihaqi Sayyids, who turned to politics. They married in the family of the Sultans and in this way entered the ranks of the Kashmiri nobles. But because of their arrogance and ambition they aroused the jealousy of the Kashmiri chiefs who formed a conspiracy to overthrown them. Gradually, however, the Baihaqi Sayyids, by pursuing a policy of moderation and

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Din, Baba Zainu'd-Din and Baba Latifu'd-Din. His tomb in Chrar twenty miles south-west of Srinagar, attracts thousands of people, both Hindus and Muslims, every year.

The tendency to asceticism became more and more pronounced among the Rishis after the death of Nuru'd-Din, until from the sixteenth century onwards, disgusted by the greed and selfishness of the ruling class and the constant civil wars in the country, they completely cut themselves off from the world. They did not marry, abstained from meat, and subsisted on dry bread or wild fruits of the mountains. They lived away from human habitations, moving from place to place, and planting shady and fruit bearing trees for the benefit of the people.[20] Unlike Nuru'd-Din and his disciples, the Rishis of the later period were for the most part illiterate, and did not possess any knowledge of their religion. Nevertheless, they led a life of piety, self-denial, simplicity, and virtue. In the time of Akbar and Jahangir there were about 2,000 Rishis in the Valley.[21]

The Sufis played a very important role in spreading Islam in Kashmir. Moreover, since in Sufism there was a marked tendency towards social equality, the Sufis acted as a kind of bridge between the rich and the poor. The *Zikr* ceremonies possessed not merely a devotional aspect, but also served a social purpose, for on these occasions different classes of people gathered together, and all differences of wealth and poverty were forgotten. The Sufis always raised their voice against oppression and injustice. Nuru'd-Din Rishi, for example,

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There was a simple initiation ceremony in which the disciple pledged devotion. After this he lived in close association with his *Pir* until he reached the higher stages of initiation when he might go out to teach his master's way (*tariqa*) and make new disciples.[15] When the *Pir* died he was succeeded by a *Khalifa* who stood high among the disciples for his moral, intellectual, and spiritual qualities. Sometimes hereditary principle was followed in making these appointments. The *Khanqah* also had an Imam whose duty was to lead the prayers.[16]

There were six main Sufi orders in medieval Kashmir. These were Qadiriya, Suhrawardiya, Kubraviya, Naqshabandiya, Nurbakhshiya, and Rishi. The first five were introduced from Persia and Turkistan, but the order of the Rishis was of indigenous origin.[17] It was founded by Nuru'd-Din[18] who was born in the village of Kaimuh, two miles west of Bijbehara, in 779/1377. His father was Shaikh Salaru'd-Din, also a pious man, belonging to the family of the rulers of Kishtwar. Although an orthodox Muslim, Nuru'd-Din was much influenced in his ascetic outlook by the Hindu Sadhus. Unlike Sayyid 'Ali Hamadani and Shamsu'd-Din, he preferred a life of retirement, and was accustomed to withdraw to caves for meditation and prayer. He renounced the world and its pleasures, left his wife and children, and gave up taking meat. In his last days, he at first subsisted only on one cup of milk daily, but towards the end, he took nothing else except water, and died at the age of 63 in 842/1438.[19] He had a large number of disciples, the most prominent among whom were Baba Nasiru'd-Din, Baba Bamu'd-

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Merchants, Shop-keepers, Petty officials and Artisans

Kashmir's internal and external trade brought into existence a class of rich men who socially belonged to the same strata of society as the shop-keepers, and petty officials, but owing to their wealth they were able to associate with the kings and nobles, and sometimes took an active part in the affairs of the country. Thus Sribhatta and Tutta were the two merchants who were much respected by Sultan Sikandar.[26] Khwaja Haji, who acted as the agent of Mirza Haidar Dughlat, was also a merchant, and played an important role in the politics of his period. Under Husain Shah Chak, Fath Khwaja Baqqal rose to become prime minister and was given the title of Khan-i-Zaman. His son, took, for a time enjoyed the confidence of the Sultan. The rich merchants lived in their fine houses situated on the Jehlam in Srinagar and Baramula.[27] The shop-keepers, petty officials, and artisans resided in the more congested areas of the towns.

The Masses

These included peasants[28] and artisans, boatmen, butchers, gardeners and other groups performing menial jobs. Originally Hindus, all of them had become Muslims by the time of Zainu'l-'Abidin. However, in spite of a change of religion, some of the features of the caste system clung to them. They retained their old caste rules and even their functions, and intermarriages between the different groups were exceptions rather

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took an officer to task for oppressing the peasants of a village.[22] Similarly Sayyid 'Ali Hamadani never ceased exhorting the rulers to rule with justice and mildness. The just ruler, according to him, would be nearest to God on the Day of Judgement, while the severest punishment would be inflicted on the tyrant.[23]

The Sufis also played the role of social reformers. Thus it was under the influence of Sayyid Muhammad, that Sultan Sikandar banned all intoxicants, *sati,* and other evil practices. Makhdum Hamza called upon the people to lead a virtuous life, pay the religious taxes, and acquire knowlegte.[24] He was once so angry with a drunkard that he hit him on the head with a stick which caused his death.[25]

In spite of these benefits conferred by Sufism, it also played a reactionary role. Owing to its emphasis on otherworldiness it popularised the philosophy of quietism and escapism which was best represented by the Rishis of Kashmir. Moreover, by the admission of alien practices and ideas, it became debased. The *Ziarats* and *khanqahs,* with which the country was studded, became the centres of superstition and charlatanism. They began to be worshipped by the credulous masses who came there as pilgrims to beseech the aid of the saint. The saint worship still plays an important part in the life of a Kashmiri, who is being constantly exploited by the *Pirs* and their disciples.

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work, helping their husbands in the fields, in the gardens, or on the river.

As regards education it seems to have been widely spread among the well-to-do ladies, who were very cultured. They opened schools, built monasteries and mosques, and took an active interest in public affairs as is evident from the careers of Sura, Hayat Khatun, Gul Khatun and Habba Khatun. The women of the lower classes, however, were illiterate, for they had neither the leisure to attend schools nor the means to employ private tutors. But as the life of Habba Khatun, the queen of Yusuf Shah, shows that opportunities were not wanting even for peasant girls who were keen to acquire knowledge.

Marriages were arranged, as at present, by parents. Polygamy was practised, but there is no evidence to suggest the existence of concubinage. Although prostitution was prevalent, yet with the exception of Haidar Shah and Hasan Shah, who were fond of the society of women, the other Sultans for the most part led a moral life and did not exceed the legally prescribed limit of four wives. The court life under the Sultans was free from those sexual perversities and orgies of debauchery which had been so prominent a feature of the later period of Hindu rule.

Dress

The dress of the upper classes was the same as that of the rich in Arabia, Persia, and Turkistan. It

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than the rule. At the lowest rung of the ladder stood the candalas, dombas and camars. The candalas acted as watchmen and performed menial jobs like handling the bodies of persons executed or killed in war.[29] They also carried on agriculture, but being poor, they sometimes took to thieving.[30] The dombas too were poor, and lived by stealing, and were morally lax. However, they were good soldiers and were enlisted in the army.[31] The camars, who came to Kashmir in the time of the Sultans, performed the work of taking out the hides of dead animals.[32] The shepherds of the Valley were known as chaupans and formed a distinct group.[33] But they intermarried with the galawans.[34] Slavery, which played such an important part in the social and political life of medieval Islam, did not exist on any large scale in Kashmir. It is true that some of the Sultans employed slaves among whom a few rose to occupy high positions in the state; but there is no evidence in the chronicles to suggest that the merchants and the nobles also kept slaves. The institution of slavery was, in fact, looked upon with abhorrence by the Kashmiris.[35]

Position of Women

The position of women was the same as that of their sisters in Persian, Turkistan and India. The women of the upper classes lived in the seclusion of their houses. But those belonging to the lower classes, both in the towns and in the villages, could not afford the luxury of staying within the four walls of their houses, and moved about freely without a veil, doing out-door

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cold climate of the Valley the Kashmiris took their bath at long intervals; and on account of their poverty they did not possess more than one gown, which they used until it was worn out, and it was only then that they changed for a new one.[49]

Diet (Food and Drink)

Rice was, as it is today, the staple food of the Kashmiris, and that is why when the paddy crop failed, it led to famine. Rice was cooked in a variety of ways. Generally it was boiled and then eaten, and some of it was kept overnight to be taken in the morning.[50] Under Persian influence various kinds of *pilavs,* like *zard-pilav, tursh-pilav,* and *shulla-pilav,* were introduced.[51] Very little wheat was consumed, because it was not much grown in the country.[52] Barley was regarded as a simple food, fit only for the poor, or for those who had renounced the world.[53] Meat, fish, eggs, and vegetables had since ancient times been the most important articles of Kashmiri diet, and continued to be so under the Muslims.[54] Pork was eaten by a large section of the Hindus in the pre-Islamic period,[55] but it is not known if it was taken under the Sultans as well. The flesh of fowl, ram, goat, and various birds was commonly eaten.[56] Horse's meat was also taken with relish.[57] Beef was introduced with the establishment of Muslim rule.[58] Still, until the time of Sultan Hasan Shah, there were many Muslims who abstained from beef. But gradually beef dishes became popular, so that sometimes even Hindus partook of them.[59] There was a special market in Srinagar where beef was sold.[60]

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seems to have been introduced by Sayyid 'Ali Hamadani in the reign of Sultan Qutbu'd-Din,[36] and by the time of Sultan Sikandar even the Brahmans had begun to adopt it.[37] The lower portion of the body was covered with wide trousers (*sarawil*) of Persian origin. The upper portion had a chemise (*qamis*) with full sleeves.[38] Over this was a short vest (*Sadri*). The outer robe was called *chogha,* and descended to the ankles.[39] It had long, loose sleeves, and round the waist was a girdle.[40] The head-dress consisted of a small close-fitting cap covered with a cloth. This formed the turban.[41] The turbans worn by the *Qazis* and *'Ulama* were of black colour.[42] On festive occasions silk dresses were worn,[43] and silk robes were bestowed as *khil'ats* by the Sultans on their courtiers.[44] The Sultans and the nobles also wore ornaments.[45]

The dress of the lower classes, despite foreign influence, has not changed since the medieval times. Men put on a close fitting skull cap over their shaven heads. They did not wear drawers, but covered their bodies with a long, loose, large-sleeved woollen tunic, called *phairan* after the Persian *pirahan,* open from the neck to the waist, and falling down to the ankles with a belt round the waist.[46] The foot-wear consisted of shoes made of grass.[47] The dress of the women was the same except that they had a fillet on the forehead, and above it was a black mantilla which fell from the head over the shoulders to the legs. The head dress of the Muslim women is called *kasaba,* while that of the Hindu women is known as *taranga,* which is tied to a hanging bonnet falling to the heels from behind.[48] Owing to the

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like bhang and opium was also common.[70] In addition, butter-milk and various kinds of sherbets were taken. The use of betel-leaves, so common under the Rajas, does not find any mention in the chronicles of the Muslim period.

Pastimes

Among the indoor games dice and chess were popular.[71] Among the outdoor games polo (Persian, *chawgan*), which was probably introduced into Kashmir from Ladakh, was much indulged in both by the Sultans and by the nobles. Sultan 'Ali Shah was very fond of the game, and it was while playing it that he was mortally wounded. Sultan Shihabu'd-Din enjoyed hunting lions, and on one occasion he nearly lost his life while trying to kill one with his sword.[73] Stags, patridges, deer, and leopards also offered sport.[74] Falconry and hawking were probably introduced from Persia.[75] The Kashmiris derived great pleasure, sitting in their skiffs and watching their hawks strike the wild-fowl or some other bird in mid-air, and fly back with the prey.[76] Besides these, other outdoor sports which were practiced were archery, fencing, and javelin-throwing.

The game which the common people played was hockey.[77] Another form of their recreation was that on Fridays the youth of one section of the city of Srinagar would challenge those of another section. After the place and hour had been fixed, both the sides assemble with sticks and slings, and a free fight would ensue.

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Vegetables were dried up and preserved. A favourite dish of the Kashmiris was to cook fowl and brinjals together.[61] A decoction of meat with vetches and soups of raisin and jujube were also prepared. Saffron land various kinds of spices formed important ingredients in the Kashmiri cooking.[62]

Fruits were grown in such abundance that they were rarely bought or sold. The owner of a garden and the man who had no garden were all alike, for the gardens had no walls, and no one was prevented from picking the fruits.[63] Pears, cherries, plums, apricots, grapes, apples, and peaches were the principal fruits that were eaten. Mulberry was cultivated for its silk and so its fruit was not taken.[64] Some fruits like jujube, which had medicinal qualities, were like wise preserved.[65]

Drinking of wine was popular although it was frowned upon by the orthodox. As the Hindu religion specially recommended the use of wine on ceremonial occasions,[66] it was not an uncommon sight to see laymen and Brahman priests alike in a state of drunkenness during Hindu festivals.[67] The Muslims, who participated in these festivals, also freely partook of wine. Most of the Sultans and their nobles too drank wine.[68] Zainu'l-'Abidin took it in moderation, but Haidar Shah was a confirmed drunkard, and as a result neglected his state duties. Hasan Shah was in the habit of arranging drinking parties in his palace, or in the boats on the Jehlam, and used to get drunk on these occasions.[69] Besides alcohol, the use of other intoxicants

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the poor was usually of rice straw or of reeds.[85] The houses were ventilated with pretty, artistic, open-work instead of windows or glass.[86] The lower storey was used for keeping cattle. In the second storey lived the family. The other floors were used for keeping household chattels. In the loft, formed by the roof, wood and grass were stored.[87] Some of the houses had cellars.[88] The houses of the rich were situated on the banks of the Jehlam and had beautiful gardens attached to them.[89]

Social Intercourse between Hindus and Muslims

When Muslim saints and soldiers first set foot on the Kashmir soil, they were received in a friendly manner. The soldiers were employed by the kings in their armies, while the saints were given complete freedom to preach their religion. It was only when Islam began to make rapid progress that it aroused the hostility of the Brahmans, who found their traditional values being upset, and some of the basic assumptions on which Hindu society was based being challenged.[90] However, in the course of time, realising the futility of opposition, they were compelled to adopt an attitude of tolerance and goodwill. These feelings were reciprocated by the Muslims. As a result, except for a communal clash which occurred in the reign of Hasan Shah, the two communities lived for the most part peacefully and amicably throughout the Sultanate period. Intermarriages between Hindus and Muslims were common; and when the latter took Hindu wives, they allowed them to retain not only their Hindu names

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This would lead to broken heads and limbs, and even deaths.[78]

The Kashmiri acrobats and jugglers possessed great skill, and they amused the people by their performance.[79] From the time of Zainu'l-'Abidin the display of fireworks was a source of great enjoyment to the people. In spite of the ban by the *Shari'a,* music was very popular with the Kashmiris and offered both pleasure and diversion. Sultan Zainu'l-'Abidin initiated the practice of holding occasional concerts and musical events in the boats on the Jehlam. Some of his successors were fond of holding convivial parties with their boon companions in which wine flowed freely, and dancing girls and musicians sang and danced.

Houses

The houses were built in the same style as we see them to-day in the towns and the villages. Owing to the abundance of wood and the constant earthquakes, houses of stone and brick were not constructed.[80] They were two to four storeys high and sometimes even more.[81] They were built of planks of timber laid on each other to form a square, their interstices being filled with clay.[82] Near the forests the walls were formed of whole logs.[83] The roofs, which were pointed to throw off snow, were formed of small planks fastened together with cords, and were covered with a layer of earth on which white and violet lilies and tulips were grown.[84] This presented a lovely sight in spring. In the villages, near the lakes, the thatch in the dwellings of

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the poor was usually of rice straw or of reeds.[85] The houses were ventilated with pretty, artistic, open-work instead of windows or glass.[86] The lower storey was used for keeping cattle. In the second storey lived the family. The other floors were used for keeping household chattels. In the loft, formed by the roof, wood and grass were stored.[87] Some of the houses had cellars.[88] The houses of the rich were situated on the banks of the Jehlam and had beautiful gardens attached to them.[89]

Social Intercourse between Hindus and Muslims

When Muslim saints and soldiers first set foot on the Kashmir soil, they were received in a friendly manner. The soldiers were employed by the kings in their armies, while the saints were given complete freedom to preach their religion. It was only when Islam began to make rapid progress that it aroused the hostility of the Brahmans, who found their traditional values being upset, and some of the basic assumptions on which Hindu society was based being challenged.[90] However, in the course of time, realising the futility of opposition, they were compelled to adopt an attitude of tolerance and goodwill. These feelings were reciprocated by the Muslims. As a result, except for a communal clash which occurred in the reign of Hasan Shah, the two communities lived for the most part peacefully and amicably throughout the Sultanate period. Intermarriages between Hindus and Muslims were common; and when the latter took Hindu wives, they allowed them to retain not only their Hindu names

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Lalitaditya's son and successor Vajraditya "sold many men to the *mlecchas*, and introduced into the country practices which befitted the *mlecchas*". [97] Later, Harsa employed Turkish soldiers, and, under Muslim influence, adopted elaborate fashions in dress and ornaments.[98] During the reign of Bhiksacara (1120-21) Muslim soldiers were again employed and sent to attack Sussala in Lohara.[99] From the accounts of Marco Polo, the Venetian traveller, it appears that already by the end of the thirteenth century there was a colony of Muslims in Kashmir, for he says that the people of the Valley do not kill animals, but that, if they want to eat meat, they get the Saracens, who dwell among them, to play the butcher.[100] These "Saracens" must have been either emigrants from Turkistan or Hindus converted to Islam by the pietist missionaries from India and Central Asia.

The saint missionaries came in the wake of traders and adventurers, and it is they who were responsible for introducing Islam into the Valley. But unfortunately the chronicles do not throw any light on their activities. The first Sufi of whom we have any record to have entered Kashmir, was Bulbul Shah, who succeeded in converting Rinchana. The conversion of the ruler of the land was an important event, for it increased the prestige of Islam and led to the acceptance of the new faith by some of the nobles and, according to one tradition, by 10,000 inhabitants of the Valley. After Bulbul Shah came other Sufis, but the most prominent among them was Sayyid 'Ali Hamadani who, by his learning, piety and devotion, is

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but also their faith.[91] Hindus and Muslims visited each other's places of worship, and participated in each other's festivals. The Hindus respected Muslim saints, while the Muslims looked upon Hindu Sadhus with reverence. Muslim mystics mixed freely with Hindu Yogis and held discussions with them.[92] The mystic songs of Lalla Ded and Nuru'd-Din Rishi stirred the souls of Hindus and Muslims alike to their deepest depths.

Spread of Islam

Buddhism flourished in Kashmir from the reign of Asoka to the end of the Kusana dynasty. But its decline began with the accession of the Gonanda dynasty, and when Hiuen Tsiang visited the Valley (circ. 631-33), he found that it had very considerably lost ground.[93]Despite this Buddhism continued to exist peacefully side by side with Hinduism, and Hindu rulers who endowed shrines of Siva and Visnu, with equal zeal made foundations of Buddhist Stupas and Viharas.[94] It is probably because of this that when Ou-k'ong visited Kashmir in the middle of the eighth century (759-63), he got the impression that Buddhism was in a flourishing state,[95] though it was rapidly being replaced by Saiva worship, which had always occupied the first place among the Hindu cults of the Valley.[96] Thus when Islam began to spread in Kashmir, it had to encounter the resistance not so much of Buddhism as of Saivism.

Muslim traders and soldiers of fortune began to enter Kashmir from an early date. Kalhana records that

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lost position, but it even became militant. This provoked a reaction among a section of the Muslims, who resented the reconversion of their coreligionists to Hinduism and their adoption of non-Muslim practices.[104] The leader of the reaction was Shamsu'd-Din, the founder of the Nurbakshiya sect in the Valley. But his views were disliked by both Sultan Muhammad Shah and his minister Sayyid Muhammad,[105] who always protected the Hindus, whenever they were harassed by him or by his followers. It was because Shamsu'd-Din was continuously opposed by Sayyid Muhammad that he got disgusted and went away to Baltistan.[106] But after the fall of Sayyid Muhammad, when Musa Raina became prime minister, Shamsu'd-Din returned to the Valley. But like Muhammad Shah, Fath Shah, who was now king, also did not approve of his ideals and methods. Once, while the Hindus were busy celebrating the Spring festival on the Koh-i-Maran, Shamsu'd-Din proceeded there with his followers and put a stop to the festivities on the ground that Muslims were participating in the religious ceremonies, while men and women in general were freely drinking wine and indulging in immoral practices. When next morning the Hindus complained to Fath Shah of Shamsu'd-Din's behavioiur, he was so angry that he wanted to put him to death, but was dissuaded by his counsellors.[107] Despite Fath Shah's liberal policy Shamsu'd-Din, under the patronage of Musa Raina, continued his activities, which occasionally hurt the religious susceptibilities of the non-Muslims. However, after the fall of Musa Raina

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said to have made 37,000 converts to Islam.[101] His work was continued by his disciples and his son Muhammad Hamadani, and by Nuru'd-Din Rishi and his disciples. Those who subsequently played an important role in the work of proselytisation were Shamsu'd-Din, Hamza Makhdum, Da'ud Khaki, and Sayyid Jamalu'd-Din Bukhari. Stein says that the adoption of Islam by the great mass of the population of Kashmir had become an accomplished fact during the latter half of the fourteenth century,[102] but a study of the chronicles shows that Muslims were still a minority in the time of Nuru'd-Din Rishi.[103] In reality, it was not until the end of the fifteenth century that a majority of the inhabitants of the Valley had embraced Islam.

So far as the rulers of Kashmir were concerned, although they held the saints in great respect and built and endowed mosques and hospices for them, they kept aloof from their missionary activities. In fact, the saints themselves very seldom solicited state co-operation, and that is why in the accounts of their life and work rarely any reference is made to the Sultans.

The only Sultan who took keen interest in the work of proselytisation was Sikandar. However, much of his work was undone by Zainu'l-'Abidin, who permitted the temples destroyed by his father to be rebuilt, recalled the Brahmans who had fled to India, and allowed those who had changed their religion under compulsion to revert to their old faith. The successors of Zainu'l-'Abidin followed his liberal policy. The result was that Hinduism not only regained some of its

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but her efforts were wrecked on the rock of Brahman conservatism and dogmatism.

Another factor which helped the spread of Islam in the Valley, was the laxity of caste rules.[110] A rigid caste system acts as a strong cohesive force, and thus serves as a powerful defence mechanism against the infiltration of foreign ideas. But in Kashmir, under Buddhist influence, there had been a relaxation of caste rules, and, as a result the power of resistance of the Hindu society had been undermined. Islam, therefore, did not have to face the same degree of opposition there as it did in other parts of India, where the caste rules continued to be rigid, and the society was able to set up barriers against external influences. These facts go to explain why Islam's success in Kashmir was much more rapid and complete than in any other part of this sub-continent.

Influence of Islam on Hindus

The influence of Islam began to felt in Kashmir from about the middle of the eighth century, long before the establishment of Muslim rule in the country. But with the foundation of the Sultanate and the influx of a large number of Persians and Turks, Hindu society began to be affected by greater and more profound changes. "As the wind destroys the trees and locusts the *shali* crop, so did the Yavanas destroy the usages of Kashmira,"[111] and that "the kingdom of Kashmira was polluted by the evil practices of the *mlecchas*,"[112] wrote Jonaraja. Similarly Srivara complained of the abolition

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until the end of the Sultanate, the Hindus lived in peace, enjoying complete freedom to practice their religion.

Thus the government under the Sultans pursued, for the most part, a policy of non-interference in religious matters, and the success of Islam in the Valley was mainly due to the efforts of the Sufis. But it must be remembered that the Sufis alone would not have been able to achieve much if it had not been for certain objective conditions existing in the Valley. Kalhana's account shows that social and political disintegration had started in Kashmir from the beginning of the eleventh century. But at the same time anarchy seems to have prevailed in the religious sphere as well. There was a tendency in Hinduism during this period towards the growth of sectarianism. The priests were represented by uneducated temple minstrels, while Saivism, to which a majority of the inhabitants of the Valley were attached, had degenerated into a mass of superstitions and rituals, and thus could no longer meet the spiritual demands of the people.[108] Nor could Buddhism, as practised in those days, offer any satisfaction.[109] On the other hand Islam, as introduced by the great Sufi saints, was a simple monotheistic creed, free from ceremonials, caste, and priesthood. It thus appealed to the people, and won converts easily. The dissatisfaction of Rinchana with the Buddhist and Hindu beliefs and practices is typical of the spiritual unrest that had affected the minds of many in the country. Later, Lalla Ded raised her voice against idolatry, superstition, and lack of true spiritual values,

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necessary for a person to become a hermit in order to achieve the absorption of the Individual Self into the Supreme, but that even a householder can obtain ultimate Release provided he performed his religious and secular duties without any thought of gain or profit.[120] Furthermore, it was from the Sufis that she learned to use words with a plain and esoteric meaning.[121] From them also she imbided the doctrine of Divine Love, and, like them, she, also employed the word "Beloved" to denote the Godhead.[122] There also appears an echo of Sufism in the mystic ecstasy that she experiences, and in her allegory of Awakening the Beloved. Thus she says.[123]

"When the moonlight ended with the dawn,
Mind of her Self with illusion mad
Lalla to the love of God had drawn,
Soothing the pain that had made him sad:
Cried to her Beloved: It is I,
Lalla, Lalla, that awakens Thee:
Buried in the crystal lake doth lie
All the defilement that darkened me."

Influence of Hinduism on Islam

While Islam brought about great changes in Hindu society in Kashmir, it itself underwent a transformation in the course of time. This was because, although the people of Kashmir changed their religion, they did not make a complete break with the past, but carried with them many of their old beliefs and practices to the new faith. Thus while they celebrated the Muslim festivals of 'Idu'l-Fitr and 'Idu'z-Zuha they

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of old practices and their substitution by new ones. He even went to the extent of saying that many of the misfortunes of the people of Kashmir were due to the changes in manners and customs.[113] But despite these denunciations and protests, Hindu society could not be prevented from assimilating foreign and practices. It was due to these influences that the Hindus began to adopt Muslim manners and dress, and some of them even began to take beef.[114] It was also the effect of Islamic impact that caste rules began to weaken. Thus Srivara, writing in the time of Muhammad Shah, observed that men belonging to the four castes had lately adopted blameable practices, and had given up the performance of prescribed ceremonies.[115] In the course of time, with the exception of the Brahman caste, all the castes disappeared from Hindu society.

The influence of Islam can also be discerned on Advaita Saivism, as represented by the teachings of Lalla Ded.[116] She was a famous Yogini of Kashmir who lived in the fourteenth century. She was greatly perturbed by the formalism of Saivite beliefs and practices, by religious conflicts and the multiplication of sects.[117] It was at this time that she came into contact with Sayyid 'Ali Hamadani and Nuru'd-Din Rishi and learned of the doctrines of Islam and Sufism.[118] It was under the influence of Islamic ideas that she denounced the caste system, and criticised idolatry as a useless and even silly 'work'.[119] Although she regarded the world as an illusion, and longed for freedom from the desire for existence, yet there is evidence of Sayyid 'Ali Hamadani's influence when she says that it is not

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Brahman Yogi.)[131]; and, like the Hindu Kings of Kashmir, they performed the *homa* ceremony at the time of the coronation at which the Shaikhu'l-Islam, instead of the Brahman priest, and the chief minister applied a *tika* (a mark on the forehead) to the ruler's forehead and made offerings of gold and flower.[132]

So far as Sufism in Kashmir, as introduced by the followers of the great orders, is concerned, it did not come under the influence of Advaita Saivism in its doctrinal aspect. The evolution of Islamic mysticism into a well-developed system of thought and way of life had been achieved by the middle of the thirteenth century; and the ideas, if any, which it borrowed from Buddhist and Vedantic philosophy, it did so in countries outside Kashmir.[153] Moreover, the founders and chief exponents of the Qadri, Kubravi, Suhrawardi, and Naqshbandi Orders in the Valley were in general orthodox in outlook, adhering to Islamic laws and practices and denouncing antinomianism and incarnationist tendencies.[134] They also frowned upon the extreme asceticism which sanctioned celibacy, the annihilation of all desires, self-torture, and an ivory-tower existence. But in spite of their attempts to maintain high Islamic ideals, Sufism in Kashmir, as elsewhere, did in the end compromise with many of the traditional practices which were openly polytheistic. Popular Islam in Kashmir thus became diluted with foreign elements, and this character it has retained until to-day.

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did not cease to participate in the Hindu festivals of Gana-cakra, Caitra,[124] Vith-trawah[125] and Sripancami.[126] They also continued to regard the Hindu places of worship as sacred, and instances were not wanting when they even indulged in idol worship.[127] Similarly, they retained the old superstitions that seeing of a comet, hearing of the barking of dogs, hooting of owls during the day, and crossing of the path by a serpent all foreboded disaster.[128] It is true that under the impact of Islam the rigours of the caste system were reduced, but, as has already been mentioned, the converts were reluctant to give up their customs, their caste rules regarding marriage, and sometimes even their caste functions.

The Sultans of Kashmir, though of foreign origin, were not far behind their Muslim subjects in assimilating Hindu beliefs and usages. This was, of course, inevitable, for they lived surrounded by a population a majority of which was Hindu at least for a hundred years after the establishment of the Sultanate. Moreover, most of the Sultans had Hindu wives who, even after their conversion to Islam, clung to their customs and who could not fail to influence their royal consorts and their children.[129] Thus the Sultans, like their Muslim subjects, participated in Hindu festivals, and some of them even visited temples to beseech the aid of the gods. They believed in witchcraft;[130] and, in order to avert famine and other calamities, they performed sacrifices and bestowed grants on the Brahmans, (Qutbu'd-Din was convinced that the birth of a son to his queen was due to the blessings of a

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silks, course woollen goods, and various other products of its handicrafts. Trade in all these articles was done by private merchants. But the trade in grain was carried on both by the state and the private traders. The state held large stocks of rice so that, whenever there was a rise in prices due to scarcity or speculation, it was brought into the market, thus bringing the prices down to their normal levels.[135] Besides, the state was opposed to the cornering of grain, and the private traders had to sell it at a small profit.[136] Because of these restrictions, merchants did not indulge in large scale transactions in grain. Control over the prices of other commodities was also regulated by monthly notifications.[137] This was done to check black-marketing. However, it appears that these controls did not materially hinder the growth of trade, for the Kashmiri merchants in medieval times were quite prosperous.[138] The real obstacles to both internal and external trade were civil wars and foreign invasions.[139]

According to Mirza Haidar the markets and streets of Srinagar were all paved with hewn stones. In the markets only drapers and retail dealers were to be found. But tradesmen like the grocers, druggists, bear-sellers, and bakers did business in their own houses.[140] This was the practice in all the towns of Kashmir until the coming of the Mughals, when the system gradually underwent some change, and all kinds of tradesmen began to transact business in the market, although, as Abu'l-Fazl says, most of the selling and buying was still carried on by them in their own houses.[141]

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Nevertheless, it was not the Sufis but the Rishis of Kashmir who were the true spiritual heirs of the Hindu ascetics. Like the latter, the Rishis practiced celibacy, inflicted bodily sufferings upon themselves, regarded this world as an illusion and withdrew from it. In their pantheistic beliefs also they were influenced by Advaita Saivism. Moreover, unlike the Sufis, instead of participating in congregational prayers and *Zikr* ceremonies, they endeavoured to achieve the absorption of the Self into the Absolute by meditating alone in caves or jungles, away from human habitations.

Trade

Trade in medieval times played, as it does to-day, an important part in Kashmir's economic life. It was a source of considerable revenue to the state; it stimulated manufactures; and it gave employment to a large number of people. Moreover, it brought wealth to the Kashmiri merchants whose activities were not confined to the Valley alone, but extended as far as Bengal, the Coromandel Coast, Lhasa, Peking, Persia, and Central Asia.

Internal Trade

This consisted in articles both imported and produced in the country. Among the first salt was very important, because Kashmir did not produce any and depended entirely on supplies from outside. Then there were the luxury goods which would be described later. Among the articles produced in the Valley were shawls,

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with the neighbouring countries. Her merchants were scattered over the different parts of Asia, and carried on an extensive trade, having establishments at Patna, Banaras, Lhasa, Kathmandu, Sining, Peking, and in the towns of Bengal, the Punjab, Bhutan,[147] Khurasan, Turkistan and on the Coromandel Coast.

Kashmir's trade with the Punjab was carried on through the passes in the Pir Punjal, while much of the trade of the Punjab with Ladakh, Baltistan, and Eastern Turkistan passed through Kashmir.[148] The town of Leh in Ladakh was the chief commercial depot of Kashmiri's import and export trade with Tibet, Turkistan, and China. Goods between Kashmir and Leh were conducted through the Zoji-La by horses in winter because of the pass being covered with snow, and by men in summer. From Srinagar to Leh, if the conveyance was by men only, it took a month or a little more.[149]

Merchants who intended going to Yarqand stayed in Leh to make preparations for the journey, by providing themselves with horses, provisions, and servants. From Ladakh their route lay through Sabu, Akhkan and Chou-jangal (great jungle), and thence to the pass of Karakoram. This was the road pursued by travellers in winter when there were no floods; but during summer, owing to the floods, they travelled through the Nubra country.[150] After crossing the Karakoram the caravans arrived in Yarqand which was an important commercial centre and where routes from Ladakh, Tibet, China, Khotan, and India were joined by

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Conveyance

The ordinary people moved about from place to place on foot, while the rich rode on horses, palanquins or litters.[142] But the most common form of conveyance was by boat, which was also the chief mode of transporting goods from one place to another. To places not situated on the rivers, goods were carried by men or on ponies along narrow tracks, for there were no roads fit for wheeled traffic. In fact, in ancient and medieval times carriages were things unknown to the people of the Valley.[143] The rivers were spanned by bridges, constructed of deodar wood, or by rope-bridges, generally formed of three cables made of twisted twigs. These rope-bridges were only meant for foot traffic, and animals had to be carried across them on men's backs.[144] Besides the rope-bridges, there were also bridges of timber, constructed according to the cantilever principle. These permanent bridges were introduced with the advent of Muslim rule, for under the Rajas only boat-bridges existed.[145] However, the use of the latter was not entirely given up by the Sultans, because they could be easily broken up at the approach of the enemy. Saharafu'd-Din Yazadi in his *Zafar-nama* notices the existence of such bridges across the Jehlam.[146]

External trade: Trade routes

Although Kashmir was enclosed on all sides by huge mountains, she maintained close trade relations

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with the neighbouring countries. Her merchants were scattered over the different parts of Asia, and carried on an extensive trade, having establishments at Patna, Banaras, Lhasa, Kathmandu, Sining, Peking, and in the towns of Bengal, the Punjab, Bhutan,[147] Khurasan, Turkistan and on the Coromandel Coast.

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External trade: Trade routes

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Patna.[158] Kashmiri merchants had their shops and offices in the town of Kathmandu, and they played an important part in the trade between Bengal, Nepal, and Tibet.[159]

Imports

Salt and shawl-wool were the most important items of import. Most of the salt came from the Punjab *via* the Pir Panjal route,[160] but some also was brought from Chan-than *via* Ladakh. During the time of war, when the trade routes were not safe, the import of salt became difficult, and this caused great hardship to the people.[161]

Shawl-wool was imported from Rodok and Chan-than,[162] as well as from Ladakh and Yarqand.[163] According to an ancient agreement Tibet's shawl-wool was exported only to Ladakh, and similarly by ancient custom and engagements, its export from Ladakh was confined to Kashmir alone. All attempts to convey it to other countries were punished by confiscation.[164] The shawl-wool was very important for Kashmir, for upon it depended the livelihood of its weavers and the prosperity of its merchants.[165]

In addition to shawl-wool, Tibet exported to Kashmir gold and musk,[166] while Ladakh exported woollen cloth which was bought and sold by the Ladakhi merchants.[167] The Punjab supplied Kashmir, besides salt, morocco leather, broad-cloth, embroidered cloth, and lac. Some of these articles were sent on to

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those leading to Kashghar.[151] From Yarqand some of the caravans proceeded to Kashghar and thence to Samarqand and Bukhara,[152] while others set out towards China. The period taken by them to reach China from Kashmir was three months.[153]

There was also another route which connected Kashmir with Eastern Turkistan. This passes through Baltistan and across the high glacier-crowned Karakoram main range beyond it. This route was very difficult compared to that *via* Ladakh, because it led along precipices and across the great glaciers. It was only followed when the Ladakh route had to be abandoned owing to political troubles.[154]

Communication between Kashmir and Transoxiana was also maintained through Gilgit. From Gilgit or Chitral the caravans crossed the Hindu Kush into Vakhan, and then after crossing the Pamir and the river Oxus, they reached Transoxiana.[155] Communication between Kashmir and Persia existed through the Punjab which had close trade relations with the latter.[156]

Kashmiri merchants who desired to carry their goods to Tibet or Nepal, proceeded from Leh to Kuti at the head of the pass. From Kuti some went to Tibet and thence to Sining and even to Peking, for much of Tibet's trade with China was conducted by the Kashmiris, who had their establishments at Lhasa and other principal towns of the country.[157] Others went to Kathmandu and thence by the Valley of Nepal to

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capital of Kashmir, was a great entrepot where Turkish, Tibetan, Ladakhi, Balti, Indian and Kashmiri merchants brushed shoulders with each other. These traders had not only their rest houses in Kashmir, but also their religious shrines.

Industries

There is very scanty information regarding the manufactures in the Valley during the Sultanate period. We only know that Sultan Zainu'l-'Abidin encouraged the production of shawls, silks, paper, and glass, but no details about them are available. From the Mughal accounts it appears that shawls were manufactured on a large scale under the Sultans, and were exported to various countries of the world. Besides shawls, silk and paper, Kashmir also produced woollen cloth which was then, as now, famous for its warmth and durability.[178] Other articles manufactured were carpets, copper and brass vessels, and glass-ware.

The silk industry was an ancient one in Kashmir, but Zainu'l-'Abidin improved it by introducing better technique and better besigns. Silk-worms were reared, and for their food the mulberry was cultivated and its fruit was not eaten by the people.[179] The paper industry was for the first time established in Kashmir by Zainu'l-'Abidin. It was a state enterprise, and the Sultan took a special interest in it. The Kashmiri paper was of silky texture and glossy appearance, and was in great demand in India where it was used for purposes of painting and writing. Under the Mughals also Kashmir

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Ladakh and Yarqand through Kashmir.[168] From Gilgit and Baltistan were brought silk-worm eggs.[169] From Khotan was imported *Yashab* (oriental jade) for which it had always been famous and the chief source of supply to the various countries of the East.[170] Khotan was also famous for its silks, carpets, paper, pottery, brass and copper vessels, and these were exported to Kashmir.[171] Agate, opal, turquoise, and other kinds of precious stones we imported from Badakhshan, Bukhara, and Yarqand.[172] The last also supplied Kashmir, and through it to Northern India, cloth, felt of wool, and silks, well-know for their durability and their brilliant colours.[173] Kashghar exported to Kashmir musk and silk. From 'Iraq and Turkistan came horses, for the Kashmiri breed was of a poor quality;[174] and from China the caravans brought musk, china-wood, rhubarb, swallow-wort, porcelain, silk, and tea.[175]

Exports

The most important article of Kashmir's export trade was its shawls, which were sent to India, Central Asia, Tibet, and China, and, according to Abu'l-Fazl, "to every clime".[176] Other articles which Kashmir exported were musk, crystals, silks, woollen cloth, sugar, saffron, dried raisins, walnuts, paper, fresh fruits, timber, and horses.[177] Besides exporting those which Kashmir herself produced, she also exported many articles which she obtained from other countries, for, as we have seen, she was a channel through which the Punjab maintained trade relations with Ladakh, Baltistan, eastern Turkistan and Tibet. Srinagar, the

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increased, and the country became self-sufficient in foodstuffs. Under the Chaks also, except for a short period towards the end, agriculture remained in a flourishing state.[184]

The spring crops raised were wheat, barley, pea, bean, and mustard. The autumn crops consisted of rice, *mung, mash, motha,* and millet.[185] Rice, which has always been the staple food of the people, was grown extensively, but finer varieties were not much cultivated.[186] Wheat, which was small in grain and black in colour, was produced on a restricted scale.[187] Sugar-cane was grown around Martand.[188] Saffron was cultivated on the Pampur Karewa,[189] and some was also produced in the Paraspur pargana.[190] The total amount grown in the Valley varied between 400 and 500 Hindustani maunds.[191] The cost of one seer of saffron was ten rupees.[192]

It is generally held that the Mughal Emperors were the pioneers of gardening in Kashmir. In reality, however, long before the Shalimar, Nishat, and other Mughal gardens were constructed, the Shah Mir rulers had already laid out beautiful gardens in the Valley. Besides the Sultans, the merchants and other well-to-do inhabitants also had a love for flowers and gardens, and their houses had gardens attached to them. Then there were the Rishis, whose habit it was to plant shady and fruit-bearing trees wherever they stayed. In the gardens planted by the Sultans, nobles, merchants and Rishis, flourished different varieties of fruits such as apricots, apples, peaches, plums, grapes, almonds, and cherries.

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supplied the best quality of paper to India. George Forster, writing in 1783, says that "the Kashmirians fabricated the best writing paper of the East," and that it was formerly "an article of extensive traffic."[180] The Kashmiri paper possessed the quality that once the ink had been washed off, it could again be used for writing.[181]

The number of factories and of the workers employed in them has not been mentioned in the chronicles. We only know about the shawl industry that in the time of Akbar there wee 2,000 factories for making shawls.[182] And since under the Mughals the industry did not suffer any decline, this must have been the number under the Sultans also. But no estimate can be made at the present stage of our knowledge regarding the number of factories producing other articles.

Agriculture

Agriculture in Kashmir had progressively declined during the last two centuries before the establishment of the Sultanate.[183] The invasion of Zulju had further accentuated the process. As a result, villages had become depopulated and large tracts of land turned barren. The Shah Mir rulers did their best to check these tendencies and promote agriculture. They repopulated the villages, reduced the revenue demand, abolished many extra cesses, drained the marshes, and constructed new irrigation works. The result of their efforts was that the area under cultivation greatly

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invasions. But under the strong government of the Chaks prosperity returned to the countryside.[196] It was only in the reign of Ya'qub Shah that, owing to the Mughal invasion, cultivation declined and the peasants were impoverished.

However, although the peasant was definitely better off under the Sultans than he had been under their predecessors, or was ever to be subsequently, the picture was not as rosy as has been painted by the chroniclers. In the first place, the peasant did not get complete relief from the burden of oppressive exactions which seemed to have continued in spite of the claims of successive rulers to have abolished them. Secondly, the Shah Mir rulers did not put an end to the corvee. In fact, from the time for Shihabu'd-Din, it was exacted even from the *hanjis* who were required to serve the king seven days in every month.[197] Besides transport, compulsory labour was also taken for collecting saffron. Under the Shah Mirs men were forcibly employed to separate the saffron from the petals and the stamens, and for this they were given a certain quantity of salt as wages. But from the time of Ghazi Shah Chak they received eleven *taraks* of saffron flower, out of which one *tarak* was to be their wages, and for the remaining ten they had to supply a quarter *tarak* of saffron to the government. This custom was abolished by Akbar on his third visit to Kashmir to the great relief of the peasants.[198]

Apart from the burden of corvee and taxes, the peasants also suffered at the hands of floods and

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The flowers that grew wild and in the gardens, were narcissus, rose, jasmine, lily, iris, hyacinth, violet, and shamrock.[193]

The Condition of the Peasants

The lot of the peasants in the Valley under the Lohara dynasty had been an unhappy one. This was due to a number of causes. First, the throne was occupied during that period mostly by weak rulers who neglected the administration. Secondly, there were constant civil wars which brought great misery to the countryside. Thirdly, apart from the heavy revenue demand, the peasants had to pay all kinds of taxes and fines.[194] But, above all, the most oppressive measure to which they were subjected was the system of *begar* or corvee for transport purposes. The villagers had to present themselves to carry their allotted loads, and if they did not turn up, they were fined to the value of the latter at enhanced rates. Only the priests of the temple were exempted from the corvee. This measure was greatly resented by the peasants, because it kept them away too long from their paddy fields which required weeding or watering and constant supervision.[195]

With the establishment of the Shah Mir dynasty, the condition of the peasants distinctly improved. This was because they were protected from the exploitation of government officials, and measures were taken to develop agriculture. It is true that after the death of Hasan Shah till the fall of the dynasty the peasants suffered a great deal due to civil wars and foreign

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The population was mainly concentrated in villages, and only a small portion of it lived in towns, the largest among them being Srinagar called in the Persian chronicles Shahr-i-Kashmir (City of Kashmir). The number of villages has been variously estimated. Mas'udi (d.956) says that the number of villages in the Valley stood between 60,000 to 70,000.[202] According to Sharafu'd-Din Yazdi in the whole province—plains and mountains together—there were 100,000 villages.[203] The number of villages in the *Lokaprakasa* is placed at 66,063.[204] This is also the oral tradition of the Brahmans throughout the Valley.[205] Jonaraja also gives the figure as 60,000.[206] Dimashqi (d.1327) speaks of the Inner and Outer Kashmir, the former containing 70,000 villages and the latter more than 100,000.[207] We can thus safely say that there were between 60,000 to 70,000 villages in Kashmir during the Sultanate period. The same was the number under early Mughal ruler. The decline in the number of villages and consequently of the population itself began from the later Mughal or Afghan period.

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famines. The floods in Kashmir are caused by warm and continuous rains on the mountains which melt the snow and thus innundate the Valley. The area that is affected most below Srinagar where the depression of the land is slight.

The floods were usually followed by famines. But the latter were also caused by early snows and heavy rains, occurring at the time of the ripening of autumn harvest, thus damaging the crops and causing scarcity. During the famines the Sultans did their best to alleviate the misery of the people by opening their grain stores and adopting various other relief measures. Nevertheless, the people suffered a great deal, and there was a considerable loss of life. The recurrent famines and floods marred the record of prosperity under the Sultans.

Population

It is not possible to give a correct estimate of Kashmir's population during the medieval period, for the chronicles do not throw any light on this point. They only state that the country's population was large. Thus the *Zafar-nama* says that the land was thickly populated,[199] and similarly, Abul-Fazl speaks of the country's "numerous population".[200] Moreover, it appears from the existence of innumerable deserted village sites that the Valley possessed a larger population under the Sultans than at present.[201]

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13. The organisation of the *khanqahs* in Kashmir was the same as in India, Persia, and Turkistan.

14. In the *khanqah* of Jadibal, the professional followers lived with their families, and were supported by the income of the endowment. (*Tuhfatu'l-Ahbab,* p. 242 sqq.).

15. See Gibb, *Mohammedanism,* pp. 151-52, where the relations of the *Pirs* with their disciples is described. In Kashmir also similar conditions existed. The disciple looked upon his *Pir* as the deputy of God and the Prophet, and regarded absolute submission to him as essential. (See Ishaq, *Hilayatu'l-'Arifin,* p. 12b, and also *Tuhfatu'l-Ahbab,* pp. 99, 129 sq.).

16. Ishaq, *Hilayatu'l-'Arifin,* ff. 9a-b.

17. Rishi is a Sanskrit word meaning a saint, a sage, or an ascetic. According to local tradition of a legendary character, the founder of this order is supported to be Khwaja Uways, Prophet Muhammad's contemporary, who lived in Yemen. (Knowles, *A Dictionary of Kashmiri Proverbs and Sayings,* p. 23).

18. Da'ud Mishkati, *Asraru'l-Abrar,* f. 63a.

19. For Nuru'd-Din's life see Nasib, ff. 190b sqq.; F.K., ff. 215b sqq.; Miskin, *Ta'rikh-i-Kabir,* pp. 92 sqq.; *Asraru'l-Abrar,* ff. 62b sqq.

20. *Haft Iqlim,* f. 156a; Nasib, ff. 415a-17a; *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri,* pp. 149-50.

21. *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri,* ii, 149-50; Razi, *Haft Iqlim,* f. 156a. The Rishis were Muslims, but J.N. Sarkar has not corrected the mistake of Jarrett (A.A., ii, 353) who called them Brahmans. (See *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri,* ii, 149 and n.).

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1. Stein, BK, v, Nos. 361 sqq; BK. Vii, Nos. 1460-2

2. *Ibid.*, BK. v, Nos. 174 and n. 174.

3. *Ibid.*, BK. vii, Nos. 13-4; BK. viii, No. 2076.

4. Lawrence, *Valley,* p. 306. Among the Rainas there are two groups: (1) Brahmans who call themselves Razdan. (2) Rajputs who claim descent from the Rajas of Candra Bansi and who came to Kashmir from Nagarkot in the reign of Raja Jayasimha. (T.H., i, ff. 166a-b).

5. A practice common in Kashmir (perhaps of older origin) is of giving a *kram,* a nickname, which is added to the original name by reason of the man's special calling, or because of some special circumstance which has occurred to him. (Knowles, *A Dictionary of Kashmiri Proverbs and Sayings,* p, 115).

6. Kilam, *A History of Kashmiri Pandits,* p. 53.

7. This title was given to the princes under the Chaks. (See H.M., f. 183b; and B.S., f. 169b).

8. Sriv., pp. 223, 303; Suka, p. 359.

9. Cited in Ashraf, *Life and conditions of the people of Hindustan,* p. 183.

10. The part which Baba Hasan, Hamza Makhdum and other Sufis played in the political events of their time has already been described in previous chapters.

11. 'Ali Hamadani, *Zakhiratu'l-Muluk,* f., 42a.

12. *Ibid.*, f. 41b.

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13. The organisation of the *khanqahs* in Kashmir was the same as in India, Persia, and Turkistan.

14. In the *khanqah* of Jadibal, the professional followers lived with their families, and were supported by the income of the endowment. (*Tuhfatu'l-Ahbab,* p. 242 sqq.).

15. See Gibb, *Mohammedanism,* pp. 151-52, where the relations of the *Pirs* with their disciples is described. In Kashmir also similar conditions existed. The disciple looked upon his *Pir* as the deputy of God and the Prophet, and regarded absolute submission to him as essential. (See Ishaq, *Hilayatu'l-'Arifin,* p. 12b, and also *Tuhfatu'l-Ahbab,* pp. 99, 129 sq.).

16. Ishaq, *Hilayatu'l-'Arifin,* ff. 9a-b.

17. Rishi is a Sanskrit word meaning a saint, a sage, or an ascetic. According to local tradition of a legendary character, the founder of this order is supported to be Khwaja Uways, Prophet Muhammad's contemporary, who lived in Yemen. (Knowles, *A Dictionary of Kashmiri Proverbs and Sayings,* p. 23).

18. Da'ud Mishkati, *Asraru'l-Abrar,* f. 63a.

19. For Nuru'd-Din's life see Nasib, ff. 190b sqq.; F.K., ff. 215b sqq.; Miskin, *Ta'rikh-i-Kabir,* pp. 92 sqq.; *Asraru'l-Abrar,* ff. 62b sqq.

20. *Haft Iqlim,* f. 156a; Nasib, ff. 415a-17a; *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri,* pp. 149-50.

21. *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri,* ii, 149-50; Razi, *Haft Iqlim,* f. 156a. The Rishis were Muslims, but J.N. Sarkar has not corrected the mistake of Jarrett (A.A., ii, 353) who called them Brahmans. (See *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri,* ii, 149 and n.).

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REFERENCE

1. Stein, BK, v, Nos. 361 sqq; BK. Vii, Nos. 1460-2

2. *Ibid.*, BK. v, Nos. 174 and n. 174.

3. *Ibid.*, BK. vii, Nos. 13-4; BK. viii, No. 2076.

4. Lawrence, *Valley,* p. 306. Among the Rainas there are two groups: (1) Brahmans who call themselves Razdan. (2) Rajputs who claim descent from the Rajas of Candra Bansi and who came to Kashmir from Nagarkot in the reign of Raja Jayasimha. (T.H., i, ff. 166a-b).

5. A practice common in Kashmir (perhaps of older origin) is of giving a *kram,* a nickname, which is added to the original name by reason of the man's special calling, or because of some special circumstance which has occurred to him. (Knowles, *A Dictionary of Kashmiri Proverbs and Sayings,* p, 115).

6. Kilam, *A History of Kashmiri Pandits,* p. 53.

7. This title was given to the princes under the Chaks. (See H.M., f. 183b; and B.S., f. 169b).

8. Sriv., pp. 223, 303; Suka, p. 359.

9. Cited in Ashraf, *Life and conditions of the people of Hindustan,* p. 183.

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12. *Ibid.*, f. 41b.

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40. Sriv., p. 265.

41. *Ibid.*, pp. 214, 245, 265.

42. *Tuhfatu'l-Ahbab*, p. 90.

43. Sriv., p. 207.

44. Sriv., p. 234.

45. *Ibid.*, pp. 207, 214, 330.

46. *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, ii, 148. The *phairan* may have come from Khurasan, and adapted from the *jubba* (See Dozy, *Dictionaire de Noms des Vetements chez* les Arabes p. II), or it may have been adapted from the *qamis* or chemise of the Persians which was open from the neck to the navel. (*Voyage du Chevalier Chardin en Perse*, iii, pp. 70, 111).

47. Nasib, f. 423a.

48. See Pelsaert, *Remonstrantie*, p. 35, for the dress of Kashmiri women.

49. *Tuzuk-I-Jahangiri*, ii, 148; Razi, *Hafi Iqlim*, f, 156a.

50. *Ibid.*, A.A., ii, 353.

51. *Tuhfatu'l-Ahbab*, pp. 109, 130; Da`ud Mishkati, *Asraru'l-Abrar*, f. 38b.

52. A.A., ii, 353; Sriv, p. 274.

53. Sriv., p. 276; also Stein, BK. viii, No. 1864 and n.

54. Yule, *Marco Polo*, *i*, 166; Stein, BK. viii, Nos. 1866-7; A.A., ii, 353. Abu Dulaf Mis'ar, who was attached to the court of the Samanids of Bukhara and visited Kashmir

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REFERENCE

22. Nasibu`d-Din, *Nur-nama,* f. 192b.

23. 'Ali Hamadani, *Zakhiratu'l-Muluk,* ff. 65b-7b.

24. Ishaq, *Hilayatu'l-'Arifin,* f. 12a.

25. *Ibid.*, f. 2b.

26. Jonar. (Bo. ed.), No. 776.

27. *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri,* ii, 134.

28. The Sayyid families which had taken to agriculture were regarded as superior by the villagers.

29. Sriv., pp. 192, 274.

30. *Ibid.*, p. 101.

31. Jonar., 95; Sriv. 284, 313.

32. Temple, *Word of Lalla,* pp. 207-8.

33. H.M., f. 153b.

34. Lawrence, *Valley,* p. 312.

35. H.M., f. 110a. For the dress under the Rajas, see Ray, *Early History and Culture of Kashmir,* pp. 208-10.

36. See p. 56, *Supra.*

37. Jonar., p. 67.

38. Nasib, f. 423a. There is also a reference on the same folio to a kurta of skin.

39. B.S., ff. 132b, 139b, refers to a Qaba.

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40. Sriv., p. 265.

41. *Ibid.*, pp. 214, 245, 265.

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70. Ishaq, *Hilayatu 'l-'Arifin*, f. 2b.

71. Suka, p. 338.

72. Jonar., p. 45; Sriv., p. 260.

73. Jonar., (Bo.ed.), Nos. 516 sqq. Jonar. uses the word Simha which means a lion. But I have not been able to identify Kharga; the place where Shihabu'd-Din hunted. It must have been situated in the forests at the foot of the outer hills of Kashmir.

74. A.A., ii, 354.

75. Compare Ashraf, *Life and Conditions of the people of Hindustan*, 289-91, for as account of the Chase under the *Sultans* of Delhi.

76. A.A., ii, 354; Sriv., p. 263.

77. Temple, *Word of Lalla*, p. 208.

78. Knowles, *A Dictionary of Kashmiri Proverbs and Sayings*, p. 3.

79. Sriv., p. 152; also Yule, *Macro Polo*, I, 177n. 2.

80. A.A., ii, 353.

81. *Ibid.*, 352.

82. Pelsaert, *Remonstrantie*, p. 34; also De Fillippi, *Travels of Desideri*, p. 351.

83. Lawrence, pp. 249-50.

84. De Fillippi, Remonstrantic, p. 351, Compare this with Lawrence, pp. 249-50,

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towards the end of the 10th century, says that Kashmiris ate wheat and fish, but no eggs, nor did they cut the neck of the animals. (G Ferrand *Relations de Voyages*. p. 89).

55. Stein, BK. vii, No. 1149.

56. These dishes were also popular in pre-Islamic Kashmir. (See I.H.C. (1949), p. 134).

57. *Tazkira-i-Mulla 'Ali Raina*, f. 543a; Ishaq, *Hilayatu'l-'Arifin*, ff. 65b-6a.

58. *Tuhfatu'l-Ahbab*, pp. 241, 246.

59. Sriv., p. 235.

60. *Ibid.*

61. T.A., iii, 477.

62. Sriv., p. 140.

63. T.R., p. 425; Firishta, ii, 641.

64. *Ibid.*

65. A.A., ii, 353.

66. *Nilamata*, Nos. 450-53, cited in Ray, *Early History and Culture of Kashmir*, p. 208.

67. Sriv., pp. 124, 126.

68. Once Mir Shah, a courtier of Zainu'l-`Abidin, got drunk and killed his wife. (Jonar., p. 80).

69. Sriv., pp. 232, 24..

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81. *Ibid.*, 352.

82. Pelsaert, *Remonstrantie*, p. 34; also De Fillippi, *Travels of Desideri*, p. 351.

83. Lawrence, pp. 249-50.

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101. Sa'adat, *Bulbul Shah*, pp. 7, 23.

102. Stein, i, Intro. 130.

103. Nasib, f. 205a.

104. *Tuhfatu'l-Ahbab*, pp. 156, 187. The accounts of saints are full of examples of Muslims adopting non-Muslim practices.,

105. *Ibid.*, p. 63.

106. *Ibid.*, p. 63 sqq.

107. *Ibid.*, pp. 157-60.

108. Temple, *Word of Lalla*, p. 94.

109. Stein, i, Intro., p. 9.

110. Kalhana's *Rajatarangini* is full of examples of the laxity of caste system in Kashmir.

111. Jonar., p. 57.

112. *Ibid.*, p. 59.

113. *Ibid.*, p. 67.

114. Sriv., p. 235, 319.

115. *Ibid.*, p. 320.

116. For her life see Temple, *Word of Lalla*, pp. 2 sqq.; Barnett and Grierson, *Lalla-Vakyani*, Intro.; I.A., L, pp. 302-12.

117. Temple, *Word of Lalla*, pp. 64-5.

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85. *Ibid.*

86. Palsaert, *Remonstrantie*, p. 34.

87. A.A., ii, 352.

88. B.S., f. 164a.

89. Bernier, *Travels*, pp. 397-8; *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, ii, 134.

90. See p. 238, *infra.*

91. The fact that some of the queens did not change their names on marriage to the Sultans, shows that they retained their religious beliefs as well. Marriages between Hindus and Muslims were also common in Rajauri, Ladakh and Baltistan. See *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, ii, 181; and I.A., xxxvii, p. 188).

92. The biographies of saints are full of references to such discussions.

93. Stein., i, Intro., p. 87.

94. *Ibid.*, p. 9.

95. *Ibid.*, ii, 358.

96. *Ibid.*, i, Intro., p. 8.

97. Stein, BK. iv, No. 397.

98. *Ibid.*, BK. vii, No. 1149; *Ibid.*, i, Intro., p. 112.

99. *Ibid.*, BK. viii, Nos. 885-6.

100. Yule, *Marco Polo*, i, 176-7.

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133. Yusuf Husain, *l'Inde Mystique*, pp. 138 sqq.

134. Sayyid 'Ali Hamadani believed in transcendental monotheism of Islam and rejected pantheism. This is quite clear from a study of his *Zakhiratu'l-Muluk* and other works.

135. See p. 86, *supra*.

136. T.A., iii, 436.

137. *Ibid.*

138. *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, ii, 147.

139. Sriv., pp. 327, 334. In the civil war between Muhammad Shah and Fath Shah the merchants suffered a great deal.

140. T.R., p. 425; A.A., ii, 353.

141. Firishta, ii, 641; A.A., ii, 353.

142. Stein, BK. viii, No. 2298; Al-Biruni, *Kitabu'l-Hind* (English trans.), p. 206.

143. Stein, ii, 414.

144. Sriv., pp. 155-6.

145. Stein, ii, 449.

146. *Ibid.*; Sharafu'd-Din, ii, *Zafar-nama*, p. 179.

147. Wessel, *Early Jesuit Travellers in Central Asia*, p. 150.

148. I.A., 1908, p. 192.

149. J.R.A.S., xii (1850), p. 373.

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118. *Ibid.*, pp. 2-3.

119. Barnett and Grierson, *Lalla-Vakyani*, p. 39; also Temple, *Word of Lalla*, p. 166.

120. Temple, *Word of Lalla*, pp. 165, 191, 200-2. For the ideas of 'Ali Hamadani on the same subject, see his *Zakhjiratu'l-Muluk* ff. 41a sqq.

121. Temple, *Word of Lalla*, p. 216.

122. *Ibid.*, pp. 195-6.

123. Grierson and Barnett, *Lalla-Vakyani*, Verse No. 105.

124. See pp. 87-8, *supra.*

125. *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, ii, 167-8.

126. See p. 158, *Supra.*

127. See p. 56, *supra.* Even in the time of Da'ud Khaki (1521-85) there were instances of Muslims worshipping idols. (See his *Asraru'l-Abrar*, f. 276a).

128. Sriv., pp. 153, 262.

129. Gul Khatun, queen of Haidar Shah, favoured Hindu customs. (Sriv., p. 229).

130. Jonar., p. 43.

131. *Ibid.*, p. 53.

132. Sriv., p. 207. On the occasion of Haidar Shah's coronation the Treasurer, Hasan, performed these ceremonies.

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of Moorcroft about 800 horse-loads were imported annually, each horse-load weighing about 28 *taraks*.

165. Markham, *Mission of Bogle to Tibet*, p. 121.

166. *Jonar.*, p. 18.

167. J.R.A.S.,xii (1850), p. 377.

168. Abel-Remusat, *Histoire de la Ville de Khotan*, pp. 119 sqq. describes in.

169. A.A., ii, 353. Detail the qualities etc. of *Yashab*. Also Stein, *Khotan*, i, pp. 132-3.

170. *Ibid.* Commercial relations between Kashmir and Khotan existed since ancient times. Coins of the Rajas and Sultans of Kashmir have been discovered in Khotan. (J.A.S.B., lxviii, pp. 28, 32).

171. Lawrence, *Valley*, p. 65.

172. Ujfalvy, *L'Art des Cuivres Anciens au Cachemere*, p. 22n.

173. *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, ii, 148.

174. Bernier, *Travels*, pp. 425-6; *Purchas His Pilgrimes*, i, BK. iv. ch. 4, cited in the J.P.H.S., vi, No. 2, p. 144, (Account of Finch). Use of tea in China can be traced to ancient times. Its use in the country in the middle of the ninth century is known from Arab sources. (Reinaud. *Voyages*, p. 40). It was introduced into Kashmir from China. According to a tradition it was Mirza Haidar who first brought it to the Valley.

175. A.A., ii, 353.

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REFERENCE

150. *Ibid.*, pp. 378-9; J.P.H.S., vi, No. 2, p. 148.

151. Stein *Khotan*, i, 88; Moorcroft, *Travels in Kashmir*, i, 346.

152. J.R.A.S., (1843), pp. 425-6. See, also *Purchas His Pilgrimes* for the trade of Yarqand and Kashghar with Kashmir and the neighbouring countries.

153. *Purchas His Pilgrimes* cited in J.P.H.S., vi, No. 2, p. 148; also vol. i, No. 2, p. 129.

154. *Hududu 'l-'Alam*, pp. 254, 363-4.

155. 20,000 camels passed yearly by Lahore to Persia, (J.P.H.S., i, No. 2, p. 116).

156. Markham, *Mission of Bogle to Tibet*, pp. Liv, 125.

157. *Ibid.*

158. *Ibid.*, pp. 127-8.

159. *Asraru 'l-Abrar*, ff. 122a,123a; *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, ii, 147; Lawrence, *Valley*, p. 393.

160. Sriv., p. 327.

161. Two dependencies of Tibet lying to the east and south-east of Tibet.

162. J.R.A.S., vii (1843), pp. 283 sqq; *Ibid.*, xii (1850), p. 377; also *Kashmir and its Shawls*, pp. 31-3.

163. Moorcroft, *Travels*, i, 347.

164. J.R.A.S., vii, p. 291. We do not know the quantity of shawl-wool imported during our period. But in the time

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of Moorcroft about 800 horse-loads were imported annually, each horse-load weighing about 28 *taraks.*

165. Markham, *Mission of Bogle to Tibet,* p. 121.

166. *Jonar.*, p. 18.

167. J.R.A.S.,xii (1850), p. 377.

168. Abel-Remusat, *Histoire de la Ville de Khotan,* pp. 119 sqq. describes in.

169. A.A., ii, 353. Detail the qualities etc. of *Yashab.* Also Stein, *Khotan,* i, pp. 132-3.

170. *Ibid.* Commercial relations between Kashmir and Khotan existed since ancient times. Coins of the Rajas and Sultans of Kashmir have been discovered in Khotan. (J.A.S.B., lxviii, pp. 28, 32).

171. Lawrence, *Valley,* p. 65.

172. Ujfalvy, *L'Art des Cuivres Anciens au Cachemere,* p. 22n.

173. *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri,* ii, 148.

174. Bernier, *Travels,* pp. 425-6; *Purchas His Pilgrimes,* i, BK. iv. ch. 4, cited in the J.P.H.S., vi, No. 2, p. 144, (Account of Finch). Use of tea in China can be traced to ancient times. Its use in the country in the middle of the ninth century is known from Arab sources. (Reinaud. *Voyages,* p. 40). It was introduced into Kashmir from China. According to a tradition it was Mirza Haidar who first brought it to the Valley.

175. A.A., ii, 353.

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150. *Ibid.*, pp. 378-9; J.P.H.S., vi, No. 2, p. 148.

151. Stein *Khotan*, i, 88; Moorcroft, *Travels in Kashmir*, i, 346.

152. J.R.A.S., (1843), pp. 425-6. See, also *Purchas His Pilgrimes* for the trade of Yarqand and Kashghar with Kashmir and the neighbouring countries.

153. *Purchas His Pilgrimes* cited in J.P.H.S., vi, No. 2, p. 148; also vol. i, No. 2, p. 129.

154. *Hududu 'l-'Alam*, pp. 254, 363-4.

155. 20,000 camels passed yearly by Lahore to Persia, (J.P.H.S., i, No. 2, p. 116).

156. Markham, *Mission of Bogle to Tibet*, pp. Liv, 125.

157. *Ibid.*

158. *Ibid.*, pp. 127-8.

159. *Asraru 'l-Abrar*, ff. 122a,123a; *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, ii, 147; Lawrence, *Valley*, p. 393.

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190. *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri,* ii, 177-8; *Ibid.,* i, 92-3.

191. *Ibid.,* I, 92-3.

192. T.R., p. 425; Firishta, pp. 640-41; Sharafu'd-Din, *Zafar-nama*, ii, 179, says that all kinds of fruits were grown in plenty except oranges and lemons which could not be grown on account of the Valley's cold climate.

193. Stein, BK., vii, No. 42; BK. viii, No. 1428.

194. *Ibid.,* BK., v, No. 172 sqq. And nn.

195. J.R.A.S., xxiii, p. 116.

196. See p. 51, *supra.* This custom was abolished by 'Ali Shah Chak. (B.S., f. 19a).

197. A.A. (Blochmann), p. 90.

198. Sharafu'd-Din Yazdi, *Zafar-nama,* ii, 177-8.

199. A.A., ii, 353.

200. Stein, ii, 438.

201. Mas'udi, *Muruju'z-Zahab,* i, p. 373, ed. And trans de ynard.

202. Cited in T.R., p. 430. In the plains.

203. Stein, ii, p. 438.

204. *Ibid.*

205. Jonar. (Bo. ed.), No. 153.

206. *Hududu'l-'Alam,* p. 254. Ibn al-Wardi and other Muslim writers place the number between 60,000 and 70,000.

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176. *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri,* i, 92-3; A.A. (Blochmann), pp. 68-9, 140; also Pelsaert, *Remonstrantie,* pp. 35-6. The town of Pampur was the centre of saffron trade.

177. Firdausi mentions in his *Shah-nama* that the dress of the army of Yezidigird, the last Sassanian ruler of Persia, was made out of the woollen cloth from Kashmir. (J.R.A.S. (Bombay), xix, p. 241.)

178. T.R., f. 16b; A.A. (Blochmann), p. 140.

179. Forster, *Journey from Bengal to England,* ii, p. 19.

180. M.T., III, 202.

181. Razi, *Hafi Iqlim,* f. 156a.

182. Stein i, Intro., p. 130.

183. J.R.A.S., xxiii, p. 116.

184. A.N., iii, 831. For crops grown in modern times, see Lawrence, *Valley,* pp. 330 sqq. With a few exceptions the same crops were grown then as now.

185. A.A.,iii, 353. Finer varieties were not cultivated because their yield was smaller compared to that of the common variety, and hence uneconomical to the peasants. Similar conditions were present until recent times. (See Lawrence, *Valley,* pp. 333, 335.)

186. A.A., iii, 353.

187. Sriv., p. 274; also p. 85, *supra.*

188. *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri,* ii, 177-8.,

189. A.A., (Blochmann), p. 90.

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190. *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri,* ii, 177-8; *Ibid.,* i, 92-3.

191. *Ibid.,* I, 92-3.

192. T.R., p. 425; Firishta, pp. 640-41; Sharafu'd-Din, *Zafar-nama*, ii, 179, says that all kinds of fruits were grown in plenty except oranges and lemons which could not be grown on account of the Valley's cold climate.

193. Stein, BK., vii, No. 42; BK. viii, No. 1428.

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186. A.A., iii, 353.

187. Sriv., p. 274; also p. 85, *supra.*

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190. *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri,* ii, 177-8; *Ibid.*, i, 92-3.

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CHAPTER XIII

CULTURAL ACTIVITES

THE standard of culture in Kashmir during the sultanate period was very high. The statement of Srivara[1] that everyone enjoyed poetry and attempted to compose verses is obviously an exaggeration, but there is ample evidence in the chronicles to suggest that there was a general appreciation of arts, letters, and music by the people of the Valley. The Kashmiris were extremely witty and intelligent, and were always ready with some appropriate saying[2]. They were very fond of music, and possessed great artistic sense[3]. They loved learning, and, as in olden days, they left, their homes for distant places in India, Turkistan, and Persia to seek knowledge[4]. The Sultans were not only patrons of art and culture, but some of them were themselves poets and musicians. Their courts were adorned with scholars, musicians, and painters, while their capital Srinagar was embellished with magnificent palaces, mosques, monasteries, and gardens.

Persian Influence

The history of culture relations between Kashmir and Persia goes back to ancient times. This is evident from the tiles of the Harvan Monastery near Srinagar and from the ancient sculptures of Kashmir which bear unmistakably Sasanian characteristics[5]. Similarly, Sasanian influnce can be detected in the use of official designations like *dibir* or *divira* (after the Persian *dabir)* and *gonjavara* (after the Persian *ganjwar)*[6]. Nevertheless, until the fourteenth century, the dominant note in Kashmir's culture had been Indian. It was only with the foundation of the Sultanate that more profound

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latter's influence on her, during this period, appears to have been much less than of Persia and Turkistan.

Persian Language

The result of the establishment of these religious and cultural ties with Persia and Central Asia was the spread of Persian in Kashmir . Sanskrit had been the court language under the Hindu kings and under the early Shah Mirs, but from the reign of Sihabu'd-Din it began to be replaced by Persian which became the language of the educated classes, and even found its way into the villages. Hafiz was not mearly indulging in portic imagination, but was stating a fact when he said.[9]

> The black-eyed beauties of Kashmir and the Turks of Samarqand
> Sing and dance to the strains of Hafiz of Shiraz's verse.

The greatest contribution to the spread and development of Persian in Kashmir was made by Zainu'l-'Abdin who was himself a poet and the author to two prose works in Persian. He made it the language, patronized poets and scholars, and encouraged the translation of historical and scientific works from Sanskrit into Persian[10]. The amount of literature during his reign was considerable, but as very little of it is extent, it is difficult to assess its quality. Stray verses of the Sultan and his court poets are found scattered in the chronicles, and if they can be any citeria, then Persian poerty must him. Zainu'l-'Abdin's son and successor, Haidar Shah, was also a poet and composed a book of songs. The next ruler Hasan Shah, though not himself a poet, was a man of culture and patronized poets and

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and endurable links were established with the centres of Persian culture[7] and, as a result, the Indian influence was gradually replaced by the Perso-Islamic element, thought it was never completely eliminated.

There were many reasons why cultural contacts between Kashmir and Persia during the Sultanate period became much closer than they had ever been before. First, the progress of Islam in the Valley was intimately associated with the missionary activities of Suffi saints from Persia and Cenkal Asia like Bulbul Shah, Sayyid 'Ali Hamadani, his son Muhammad Hamadani, Mir Shamus'd–Din and many others. These Suffis played an important part in bringing about an Iraiian orientation of Kashmir's culture, for theey were not only the missioners of Islam, but were also zealous propagandists of the Persian language and culture. Secondly, with the spread of Islam in Kashmir, it became natural for its Muslim inhabitants to look for their intellectual and spiritual inspiration to lands which had become centres of Islamic culture. Scholars, therefore, began to visit Heart, Merv, Samarqand, and Bukhara, which formed part of Persia's cultural empire, to learn at the feet of eminent jurists and devout Sufis, and drink deep from the fountain of Persian culture. Thirdly, form the reign of Shihabu'd-Din, Persians and Personalized Turks, attracted by the patronage extended to them by the Sultans, began to enter Kashmir in increasingly large numbers. These men exercised great influence on the social and cultural life of its people[8]. The Valley had also close cultural relations with Hindustan, but the

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But the two most outstanding poets and scholars of the Chak period were Baba Da'ud Khaki and Shaikh Ya'qub sarfi. Baba Da'ud, the son of noted scribe Shaikh Hasan Gana'I, was born in 1521. After completing his education, he served for a short period as tutor of Nazuk Sha's son. He then became a disciple of Shaikh Makhdum Hamza. During Ya'qub Shah's regin he proceeded with Ya'qub Sarfi to the court of Akbar to seek his help against the Kashmir ruler. On his return he fell ill and died at Anantnag in 1585. He was a learned Sufi his and his poetry is permeated with religious and mystical ideas. He was the author of a number of books like *Dasturu's-Salikin, Virdu'l-Muridin, Qasida-I-Jalaliyya* and others.[15].

Shaikh Ya'qub Sarfi, the son of Shaikh Hasan Gana'I was born in 1528 and died on July 25,1594. He memorized the Qur'an whenhe was only seven, and began to compose verses in Persian at the same age. He studied in Lahore, Sialkot, Samarqand, Mashhad, Mecca, and Madina under renowned teachers[16]. He was the author in arabic of an introduction to Faizi's *Tafsir* entitled *Sawati'u'l-Ilham.* He also wrote a commentary of *al-Shih* of *Bukhari;* and, just before his death, he had nearly completed a commentary of the Qur'an[18]. Bada'uni regarded this book work as "one of the most wonderful productions of his perfect genius"[19]. Besides being a great prose writer, Ya'qub Sarfi was also a good poet. He wrote many *ghazals* and *qasidas,* and completed a *khamsa,* a series of five *masnavis* in imitation of the *khamsa* of

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learned men. The example set up by the Sultans was followed by the nobles, who surrounded themselves with scholars and set up institution of learning at their own cost. The queens and the ladies of the upper classes, too, were not far behind in their zeal to promote learning.

Under the later Shah Mirs, owing to cosntant civil wars and invasions, learning declined, but there was again a revival under the shortilived rule of Mirza Haidar and the Chaks. Mirza Haidar being himself a man of letters encouraged learning . unfortunately, however, the names of scholars attached to his court, or of works produced under his patronage, are not known. Amoong the Chak rulers the most cultured man was Husian Shah. Himself a poet he was fond of the society of poets and learned men. Mr 'Ali, a poet and a calligraphist, came from Persia during his reign and wrote a long poem in praise of Kashmir [11]. Mulla Baqi, Mulla Nami I, and Mulla Nami II were the other poets attached to Husain Shah's court[12]. The most important poet who enjoyed 'Ali Shah's partronge was Mula Mehri. Muhammad Amin Mustaghni, a Kashmiri, was a courtier of Yusuf Shah and a good poet. Another poet connected with his court was Mirza 'Ali Khan who was killed in the course of Ya 'qub Shah's war with Raja Bhagwan Das[13]. Baba Talib Isfahani arrived in Kashmir during the time of Ghazi Shah. He was a good poet and enjoyed the respect of all the Chak rulkers. When Akbar annexed Kashmir, Baba Talib went to Agra and entered the Emperor's services[14].

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Sanskrit and Persian.[25] Similarly, ther is preserved in the Srinagar Museum a bi-lingual will of Shaikh Makhdum Hamza, a great Kashmiri saint, dated 984/1576, and written on birch-bark. The Sanskrit version in the Sarada characters on the right side cannot be deciphered, but the Persian text on the left is partly legible. In spite of these instances, however, it cannot be denied that Sanskrit fought a losing battle in the Valley, and by the end of the seventeenth century its use and study had become confined to a very small number of Brahman priests. Another effect of the spread of Persian was that it led to an influx of many foreign words into Sanskrit. As already mentioned, owing to Sasanian influence some words like *dabir* and *ganjwar* had come into official use in Kashmir during the Hindu period. Now with the establishment of the Shah Mir dynasty, a much larger number of Persian words began to find their way into the Sanskrit language. Thus those parts of the *Lokaprakasa* that were written during the Sultanate period contain many new words like *Shahi, khawas, Suratrana* (*Sultan*) and *Sillah-dar*. These are not to be found either in those portionsof the *Lokaprakasa* whose authorship has been assigned to Ksemendra, or in Kalhana's *Rajatarangini*.[26] Similarly in the Sanskrit chronicles of Jonaraja, Srivara, Prajyabhatta and Suka, we find the use of a large number of Arabic, Persian and Turkish words like *khatona* (*Khatun*),[27] *khanagaha (khanqah), Malika (Malik), masjeda* or *masedaha* (*masjid*), *madrasa*,[28] *ravava (rabab)*.[29]

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Nizami[20]. "His genius". as Bada'uni observed, "was highly adapted to the composition of eloquent poetry"[4].

Sanskrit

Sanskrit learning in Kashmir began to decline from about the middle of the twelfth century; but with increasing employment of Persian as the language of administration and culture, this process was further accentuated. However, even after Sanskrit had ceased to be the official language, it continued to enjoy the patronage of many of the Sultans, and Kashmir could boast of a number of great Sanskrit scholars[21]. It was during the Sultanate period that Jonaraja, Srivara, Prajyabhatta, and Suka wrote their chronicles. Besides writing a historical work, sribara also translated Jami's *Yusuf-u-Zulaikha* into Sanskrit, and compiled *Subhasitavali* containing extracts from the works of more than 350 poets, both Kashmiri and Indian[22]. Among other important works of the period, mention must be made of Jagaddhar Bhat's *Stuti-Kusumanjali* written in 1450, and of Sita Kantha's *Balabodhini* written in 1475[23], and of Varadaraja's *Sivasutra-Varttika* composed in the fifteenth century[24]. It must also be noted that, despite the growing popularity of Persian, the use of Sanskrit both for private and official purposes did not cease for a long time. In fact, very often, it was employed side by side with Persian. A number of Muslims graves of the fifteenth and Sixteenth centuries are still in existence in Srinagar and Bijbehara which bear bi-lingual inscriptions: Sanskrit at the top, and Persian at the bottom. Stein refers to a deed of sale of as late a date as 1682, written in both

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Ded on the tip of every Kashmiris tongue.[34]

The first secular poem to have been written was *Banasuravadha* in the time of Sultan Zainu'l-'Abidin, who gave encouragement not only to Persian but also to the Kashmiri language.[35] Another work of his reign *Mahanayaprakasa* by Sita Kantha. But some persons think that it was written before the fifteenth century. Two other works of Zainu'l-'Abidin's period, of which mention has already been made, were Nottosoma Pandit's *Jainacarita* and Yodhabhatta's *Jainaprakasa.*[35]

In the Chak period the most outstanding poetic genius was Habba Khatun, the queen of Yusuf Shah. It was she who introduced *'Lols'*[37] or love lyrics in Kashmiri poetry, and on the advice of Sayyid Mubarak, a Sufi, she began to experiment with Persian metre. While the lyrics of Lall Ded and Nuru'd-Din Rishi are mystical and didactic, Habba Khatun's lol-lyrics sing of human love, its disappointments, yearnings and fulfilment. They are full of emotion, music, rhythm and melody, and are sung even to this day by peasants and boatmen.

Education:

Education was wide-spread in Kashmir during the Sultanate period. Kings and nobles vied with each other in opening schools and endowing them with jagirs for their maintenance. As a result every village had a school. At the same time higher education was not neglected, and in Srinagar there was a University.

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Kashmiri Poetry:

We have seen that while Sanskrit was the language of culture in the time of the Rajas, its place was taken by Persian during the Sultanate period. Kashmiri, however, remained, as before, the mother tongue of a vast majority of the population. In fact, under the influence of Persian, it grew richer, and owing to the patronage it received at the hands of the Sultans, it was able to develop a respectable poetic literature of its own.

The oldest author in Kashmiri seems to be Lalla Ded,[30] for there is no reference in the chronicles of any earlier writer. She was a great poetess, and her poems are full of deep and philosophical meanings. But she expressed her thoughts in the simple language understood by the common people. That is why her verses are, even today, in every one's mouth in the Valley and quoted as sayings or maims in the course of conversatioin. Her verses contain a large number of Sanskrit words,[31] but the later poets, particularly the Muslims, increasingly make use of Persian.[32] They model their poetry on Persian metre and employ Persian metaphors, similes and imagery. However, they do not remain indifferent to the indigenous legends and romances and to the appeal of their surroundings.[33]

Nuru'd-Din Rishi, Lalla Ded's contemporary and the patron saint of the Valley, was also like her a poet and enriched the Kashmiri literature. His sayings, which are religious and didactic, are like those of Lalla

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come to Kashmir with Sayyid 'Ali Hamadani and had been persuaded by Qutbu'd-Din to stay in the country. Qutbu'd-Din's son and successor, Sikandar, opened many schools, and founded a college and a hostel attached to the Jami 'Masjid which he had built. Mulla Afzal Bukhari taught in this college, and the village of Nagam was assigned to him as jagir.[43]

But the Sultan who did most for the spread of education in the Valley was Zainu'l-'Abidin. He opened a school near his palace in Naushahr, and placed it in charge of Maulana Kabir. The Sultan himself occasionally went there to attend the maulana's lectures. For the maintenance of the school, and for the granting of scholarships to deserving candidates, the created an endowment with Maulana Kabir as its trustee. The institution survived until the middle of the seventeenth century. In addition to this school the Sultan also founded a college in Zainagir, and a large *madrasa* at Sir in Dachhanpur near Islamabad with Mulla Ghazi Khan as its principal. Another place where education was imparted was the hospice of Baba Isma'il Kubravi, who later in the reign of Hasan Shah became Shaikhu'l-Islam. The fame of his learning was so wide-spread that students came to study under him from Heart, India, and Transoxiana. It was the measure of Zainu'l-'Abidin's interest in education that he did not hesitate to give generous grants to institutions even outside the Valley. Thus to Madrasatu'l-'Ulum at Sialkot he contributed six lakhs of rupees, while his queen, Taj Khatun, gave away her valuable necklace.

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Monasteries were also centres of learning where education was imparted to students by able teachers.[38]

The system of education and the courses of study were the same as in the *madrasas* of India. Turkistan, and Persia. Generally at the age of five the child was put into the school where he was taught the Arabic alphabet and to read the Qura'an.[39] He had then to learn the traditional sciences. Dogmatic Theology (*'Ilmu'l-Kalam, 'Ilmu'l-Tawhid*), interpretation of the Qur'an (*Tafsir*), Tradition (*Hadis*), Jurisprudence (*Fiqh*). But physical sciences were not neglected; and boys were trained in archery, swordsmanship, and horsemanship.[40] The heads of the institutions were eminent scholars, and students came from India, Heart, and Turkistan to learn at their feet.[41]

The first Kashmir Sultan to have established *madrasas* in different parts of the Valley was Shihabu'd-Din.[42] In addition he founded a college in Srinagar called Madrasatu'l-Qura'an for the study of the Qur'an and *Hadis*. When Qutbu'd-Din came to the throne, he established a college in his new capital of Qutbud-Dinpur and appointed Pir Haji Muhammad Qari as its Principal. It had a hostel attached to it where board and lodging was free for both teachers and pupils. The college existed till the establishment of the Sikh rule in Kashmir when, owing to lack of patronage, it had to close down. Another educational institution of this period was called 'Urwatu'l-Wusqa which was founded by Sayyid Jamalu'd-Din Muhaddyis who had

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development, as very few works of art of this period are extant. A flourishing textile art had existed in Kashmir since ancient times. The Kashmiri woollen cloth was famous for its warmth and durability, and is said to have been worn by the Sasanian army.[44] Kashmir is believed to have learned sericulture from the Chinese during the time of the Rajas, but Zainu'l-'Abidin improved the manufacture of silk by introducing better methods of weaving, and by importing the decorative designs from Persia. As a result Kashmir became famous for its silks.[45]

As regards the shawl industry, no conclusive evidence can be given of its origin. According to local tradition, recorded during the nineteenth century, the first Kashmiri shawls were produced by Turkistan weavers who were invited by Zainu'l-'Abidin to settle in the Valley.[46] It is also stated that the shawl industry was founded by Sayyid 'Ali Hamadani in 1378.[47] However, that may be, one thing is certain; that the shawl industry did not exist before the thirteenth century, for there is no reference to it either in Kalhana's Rajatarangini or any other source; and that it was developed under the patronage of the Sultans with the help of weavers who came from Persia and Turkistan. These immigrants not only introduced new patterns but also a new technique –the twil-tapestry technique—which has a parallel in Persia and Central Asia but nowhere in India and Pakistan.[48] It is, however, impossible to trace the history of the development of this industry, impossible to trace the

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Besides the *madrasas,* the Sultan also opened tachnical schools where people were taught paper-making, book-binding, and other arts which he had introduced into the country.

During the reign of Hasan Shah also a number of *madrasas* were founded. Gul Khatun, the mother of the Sultan, Hayat Khatun, his queen, Shah Begum, the wife of his prime minister Malik Ahmad, and nobles like Nauruz and Tazi Bat took great interest in education and established schools at their own expense. Sultan Hasan Shah himself founded Madrasa'I'Daru'sh-Shifa at Pakhribal on the Dal Lake, and appointed Baba Isma'il Kubravi as its head. The revenues of Baghat'I'Malkhana, lying between Nauhatta and the Dal, and of the village of Birhama in the Lar pargana were assigned to it.

The Chak rulers, too, like the Shah Mirs, were great patrons of education. Thus Husain Shah improved the Daru'sh-Shifa founded by Hasan Shah, and, in addition, opened a college to which he assigned the revenues of Zainapur. The college had a library and a hostel, which were also endowed. The principal of the college was Fathu'llah Haqqani and his assistant was Akhund Mulla Darwish.

Minor Arts

One of the main achievements of the Sultante period lies in the fields of minor arts. But unfortunately it is not possible to trace the history of their

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find much favour with Muslim workers in Persia and elsewhere.[53] They also decorate their vases in a particular fashion which distinguishes their work from that of India and Persia. Thus the art of Kashmir has also its original side. As Ujfalvy observes: "With Islam came Perso-Arab art in Kashmir. The people, the most ingenous, perhaps in the entire world and certainly in Central Asia, found themselves in the presence of admirable models, and with their marvellous talent for imitation and execution they set themselves to work and create for their daily use a series of objects of art which soon surpassed the originals".[54]

In addition to the art of tinned metals, that of wood carving also flourished during the Sultanate period. There is evidence to show that this art existed in Kashmir in ancient times; and since most of the edifices were built of wood during the medieval period, it continued to be cultivated. The only specimen of that period has survived is the door of the mosque of Madani bearing fine carvings and lattice-work. The existence of fine jali-screens in the Jami' Masjid and the mosque of hamadani show that hese buildings must have possessed similar screens before, for when they were rebuilt during the Mughal period the original features were retained. As regards other minor arts, tradition credits Sultan Zainu'l-'Abidin with having introduced many of them. However, it is impossible to review them as not a single specimen of that period has survived.

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history of the development of this industry, because no shawl of a date earlier than the later half of the seventeenth century now survives. From Srivara we only learn that under Zainu'l-'Abidin Kashmir had become famous for its shawls.[49] When the Mughals conquered the Valley the shawl industry was in a well-developed without much difficulty. But that is beyond the scope of this work.

The art of tinned metals used in northern India and Kashmir was introduced from Persia.[50] The Muslims use copper cooking and eating vessels; and hence these have to be tinned before they can be employed with safety. The ewers of Kashmir are mostly in red copper, embossed, enamelled, and tinned. Their handles are of brass, and represent the head and tail of a Chinese dragon,[51] while the floral decorations and forms are mainly Persian. But these decorations are scattered with such profusion as to show that the influence of the Hindu art has been retained. Thus from a study of the metal-works of Kashmir it appears that the three ancient civilizations—Persian, Chinese, and Hindu—met in the Valley, but the influence of the first overshadowed that of the other two, although it was modified by the native mode of expression.[52] But this should not lead us to think that he Kashmiris were mere imitators. On the contrary while they accepted foreign influence, they developed their own style. Thus some of their ewers are different from those of Persia; in fact some of their shapes are found nowhere in Asia. Moreover, Kashmiris excel in enamlling which did not

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the Chak Sultans it was the *nasta'liq* style that came into vogue. During the time of Zainu'l-'Abidin a number of calligraphists came to the Valley from Persia and Turkistan and were given jagirs. The Sultan had a number of copies made of Zamakhshari's commentary of the Qur'an.[59] The greatest calligraphist of the Chak period was Muhammad Husain who, when Kashmir was annexed by the Mughals, entered the service of Akbar. The Emperor was so much impressed by the grace, beauty, and symmetry of his compositions that he conferred upon him the title of *Zarrin-qalam* (Gold-pen).[60] Another noted callligraphist of the Chak period was 'Ali Chaman Kashmiri. He, too, was patronised by Akbar.[61] Under Jahangir and Shahjahan also some of the most prominent calligraphists were of Kashmiri origin.

Sculpture

The relief,[62] illustrated elsewhere in this book, was found in Ushkur, near Baramula, by Father de Ruyter of the Church Mission School at Baramula, and is the only piece of sculpture belonging to the Sultanate period that is extant. It bears the equestrian portrait of a warrior on horseback. The man is shown wearing two garments: a tight inside tunic with a high collar joined with a hook; an upper coat with short sleeves, heavily embroidered, fastened by a girdle in four folds around his waist. The legs are unfortunately broken, but a portion of the lower garment, probably a *sirwal,* which comes down in angular folds, can be discerned. The man is armed with a bow, a quiver full of arrows, a big sword, two daggers, a battle-axe, a mace and a shield.

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Painting

It is impossible to enter into a detailed discussion of Kashmir painting since not a single work of the Sultanate period has survived the devastating cataclysms of civil strife and foreign invasion.[55] However, there is evidence to show that Kashmir had maintained a high artistic tradition for centuries and had its own style. Mulla Jamil was a famous painter in the service of Zainu'l-'Abidin.[56] Akbar had a group of five painters from Kashmir, but we cannot assess the influence, if any, which the Kashmir style of painting exercised on the Mughal school.[57] However, as Brown says: "Very delicate effect is said to have been obtained by the Kashmiri painters. The allowed water to stand until it had completely evaporated, leaving a slight sediment, which they used as a background tint to the profile of a portrait, as it left a faint but charming contrast of tone between the flesh colour and the gound."[58]

Calligraphy

The Sultans of Kashmir were great patrons of the art of calligraphy. But unfortunately not a single manuscript of calligraphic significance has survived. However, some mosques and tombs still bear Persian and Arabic inscriptions in elegant *naskh* and *nasta'liq*, which show that the art of calligraphy had been carried to a high degree of perfection in Kashmir. From the inscriptions of the reign of Zainu'l-'Abidin and Hasan Shah it appears that only the *naskh* style was cultivated during that period; but under the later Shah Mirs and

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walls underneath the accessory domes are decorated with blind arcades. Below the arcades is a moulding and a dentil decoration. This feature—the cupolas at the four corners with a dome in the centre—appears for the first time in this building in the history of Indo-Muslim architecture. The next appearance, with slight modifications, is in Sher Shah's tomb at Sasaram.

Another building in Srinagar representing the masonry style is the tomb of Sayyid Muhammad Madani, who came as an envoy to Kashmir from Madina in the reign of Sikandar. Constructed in 848/1444, it is now in a dilapidated condition; but until recently it possessed two interesting features. The first was its coloured tile-work which was introduced from Persia and was different from the tile-workof the Mughals.[63] The tile-work of this tomb is in square units with varioius brilliant colours, such as blue, red, brown, green and yellow, on the same piece; whereas the tile-work of the Mughals, being almost invariably cut in small irregular shapes to fit the different forms and colours of the design, has the appearance of mosaic.

But the most significant feature of the building was the representation of a beast in polychrome tiles in the southern half of the spandrel of the archway in the east façade. The body of the beast is of a leopard, and the trunk is that of a human being whose head, chest, and shoulders are missing, but who appears to be shooting with a bow and arrow at its own tail which ends in a kind of dragon's head, while nearby a fox is

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The horse is shown caparisoned with a richly embroidered cloth, tied to the body with belts. The relief is reminiscent of a Central Asian horseman both from the point of view of costume and the treatment of the figure. It also throws light on contemporary military equipment. The inscription on the slab is in the Sarada script, and bears the date of Friday the ninth of the dark fortnight of *Magha* in the year 82 of the *Laukika* era which corresponds to A.D. 1506.

ARCHITECTURE:

The Sultans of Kashmir, like the Great Mughals, were great builder. But unfortunately, with the exception of a few tombs and mosques, all their buildings have perished. The architecture of their period can be divided under two heads: (1) The masonry style (2) The wooden style. One of the buildings belonging to the first category, which still exists, is the tomb of Zainu'l-'Abidin's mother in Srinagar. Although it is constructed on the plinth of an ancient temple, the brick structure above the plinth is built in the style of a Muslim tomb. With the exception of the niches on either side of the gateway, which are like those found at Martand, the pointed arches in each wall-face and the brick arch over the gateway are all Islamic. The outer walls are studded at intervals with glazed blue bricks, while the whole structure is surmounted by four small cupolas and a large central dome. But all the domes possess more or less the same features. The central dome is placed on a lofty drum, the wall of which is pierced by arched openings. The

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the spaces between the logs being in some cases filled with brick work. Since the Kashmiris were ignorant of the art of joinery, the logs were generally fastened to one another by a stout wooden pin. Nor did they adopt any other means like struts, trusses or diagonal members to secure lateral rigidity. The roofs of these buildings are covered with turf laid on birch-bark which is impervious to both rain and snow. The birch-bark is placed on boards which are supported on rafters. The ceilings of the chambers are supported by high posts, all of single deodar trees, which enhance the beauty and grace of the buildings. The Pyramidal roof is surmounted by a steeple; and the finial, which is covered with metal, is in the shape of an outspread umbrella. The steeples have sloping gables projecting from the sides. Window openings and balustrades possess fine jali screens. The angles of the eaves are ornamented with wooden pendants suspended from the corners, and almost immediately beneath the eaves project heavy cornices corbelled out from the wall-face on logs laid crosswise Forming a dental crown. This form of Kashmiri architecture is very similar to the wooden buildings of other mountainous countries like Nepal, Norway and the Austrian Tyrol. But this does not mean a common origin. The fact is that the characteristics, such as the methods of laying logs, stepped roofs, and the employment of birch-bark and turf as roof covering, and many other features, were independently evolved in Kashmir because of its special climatic conditions and the easy availability and abundance of timber. It would also be wrong to suggest

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quietly looking on from among flowers and cloud-forms. The background of the representation is blue, the leopard's body is yellow with green spots, the trunk of the man is red, the dragon's head and the fox are reddish brown, and the flowers are of various colours. The use of cloud-forms and dragon's head are suggestive of Chinese and Persian influence.[64]

It was, however, not the masonry style but the wooden style of architecture that was more common in the Valley. Although building in wood was not unknown in Hindu times, it became more popular under the Sultans. This is perhaps due to the fact that buildings constructed of wooden framework are less liable to fall in earthquakes than an edifice of brick or stone. Moreover, the change of religion required "the hasty erection of buildings for public worship on a much larged scale than had been required by Hindu ritual; wood was abundant and easily worked; hence its substitution for stone, and the fashion, having once set in, continued to spread after the occasion for it had ceased".[65]

The mosques and tombs are all built in a similar style. They are all square in plan. But while the mosques of Madani and Hamadani are self-contained square buildings, the Jami' Masjid at Srinagar consists of a group of square buildings, enclosing a spacious courtyard and connected together by a colonnade. The walls are constructed sometimes of masonry and sometimes of logs laid across each other horizontally,

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The Jami' Masjid of Srinagar, built by Sikandar in 1400, contains all the typical features of the Kashmiri wooden style already described, while preserving the conception of the orthodox mosque plan. It was many times destroyed by fire, but was each time restored. The final reconstruction was effected by Aurangzeb who seems to have retained the original plan. The building consists of a courtyard some 240 feet square, surrounded on all four sides with wide colonnades. The outer wall is of masonry, having projecting entrance is on all three sides the south side and consists of a recessed portico leading across the colonnade into the interior courtyard. A series of arched arcades with a clerestory goes round the courtyard, but in the centre of each side there is a square frontage containing an archway, while above it is the usual pyramidal roof and steeple already described. Of these four structures the one on the west, which is the largest, denotes the position of the nave of the sanctuary. This is entered through the great archway, and is contained within a double range of tall wooden posts, with an arched *mihrab* occupying the interior wall, thus giving an air of apaciousness and breadth to this portion of the building. But the real greatness of the conception lies in the lofty colonnades extending around the entire building. They are composed of ranges of high and graceful posts, each made out of a single deodar trunk, varying from 25 feet to 50 feet in height, all amounting to 378 in number. The whole structure, owing to its breadth and spaciousness, its stately proportions and its graceful columns, is most impressive.

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that architectural style and method of consturcting these buildings were borrowed from Buddhist pagodas. For, in the first place, by the time of the Sultans not a single pagoda was in existence in the Valley; and in the second, the architecture of the pagodas is quite different from that of the wooden buildings of Kashmir.

The mosque of Hamadani in Srinagar, better known as Khanqah-I-Mu'alla, which stands on the right bank of the Jehlam on an irregular masonary foundation, is a typical example of the wooden architecture of the Valley. Exclusive of its verandahs and extensions, it is in plan a square, of seventy feet and is two storeys in height, which up to the eaves is nearly fifty feet from the ground. The pyramidal roof projecting over the whole structure is built in three tiers, and is surmounted by an open pavilion for the *ma'azzin,* over which rises the steeple with its finial 125 ft. from the ground. Around the building are higher structures such as arcades, verandahs and porticos, their openings being filled with lattice work. On the ground floor is the hall which is rectangular in plan measuring 63 feet by 43 feet, the original square having been reduced by the construction o small chambers on its north and south sides. The interior hall has no great significance from the point of construction, but its tapering eight-sided ornamented posts, the arched and recessed *mihrab,* its panelled walls and ceilings painted in multicoloured designs, and the valuable prayer carpets of different colours on the floor give it an air of elegance and dignity.

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music and their courts were thronged with musicians from various parts of India, Central Asia, and Persia. Sultan Zainu'l-'Abidin was a great lover of music and occasionally held musical concerts. His son and successor Haidar could play excellently on musical instruments, while his grandson, Hasan Shah, who was a musician, invited great artists from the Deccan so that they might introduce new elements in Kashmiri music and thus enrich it. Hasan Shah had even a music department of which Srivara was the head.[67] Mirza Haidar Dughlat also did a great deal for the development of music in the Valley. But perhaps the greatest patron and connoisseur of music among the medieval rulers of Kashmir was Yusuf Shah. His queen Habba Khatun was a great musician and introduced the melody of *Rast Kashmiri.* With the downfall of the Chaks, owing to the absence of royal patronage, Kashmiri music did not achieve any further development.

Kashmiri music is the product of diverse elements, which have blended with one another. But the chief contribution to its development was made by Persia and Turkistan.[68] In fact, the main schools of music I the Valley were founded by the Irani and Turani musicians in the time of Sultan Zainu'l-'Abidin.[69]

The classical music of Kashmir is known as *sufiana Kalam,* which borrowed its style from Persian music.[70] It has about fifty-four *maqamat* (modes), out

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The mosque of Madani is another edifice constructed of wood and adjoins the tomb of Madani which has already been described. Its heavy corbelled cornice is very much like that of the mosque of Hamadani. This mosque is in a very bad state of preservation. An inscription on the doorway suggests that both buildings were erected at the same time in 848/1444. The mosque was also, like the tomb, built on the site of an old Hindu temple, and just as two carved stone columns have been used in the inner chambers of the tomb, so some similar columns have been used in the porch of the mosque.

The bridge in Kashmir were constructed according to the cantilever principle. The main supports were piers are formed of layers of deodar logs resting on a foundation of uncemented stones enclosed in a triangular wooden frame. The layers are laid alternately lengthwise and across, each projecting slightly beyond the one immediately beneath it. This constivance gives the piers the shape of an inverted pyramid, and, by reducing the span, permits the logs to be laid across one pier to the other, thus forming the roadway. Until 1952 two bridges built on the old pattern existed in Srinagar. But the floods of that year washed away one of them called Fath Kadal, the third bridge, and a new one was constructed in its place. The sixth bridge, known as Nau Kadal, was rebuilt towards the end of 1954.[66]

Music

The medieval period saw a great development of music in Kashmir. The Sultans were great patrons of

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3. *Razi, Haft Iqlim,* f.156a.
4. Compare this with Hiuen Tasiang's Statement in *Si-Y-Ki,* I, p.148 (Trans. Bele).
5. Kak, Handbook of Partab Sing Museum, Srinagar, pp. 4, 65.
6. Stein, BK. v. No. 177.
7. These were not confined to the narrow geographical limits of modern Persia, but extended to Central Asia and Northern India and even as far as Asia Minor.
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18. M.T., iii, 200-1; Suffi, ii, 360.
19. Ibid., iii, 201.

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of which some are like the Indian *ragas,* and bear Indian names llike *Bhairavin, Lalit* and *Kalyan,* while others have Persian names, as for example, *Isfahani, Dugah, Panjgah, 'Iraq, Rast-I-Farsi* and *Sehgah.*[71] ?The most prevalent *tals* are *Sehtals, Nimdur, Dur-I-Khafif* and *Turki Zarb.* These *tals* are different from those of India. The *bols* too are different. Moreover, unlike the Indian classical music, the *Sufiana Kalam* is always sung in chohus.[72] In this respect Kashmiri music is unique. Fromerly singing was done to the accompaniment of *Hafiz Naghma,* a dance which expressed the meaning of songs by physical movements. The accompanying instruments are*Dhukra Santur, Saz* and *Sitar.*[73] Other musical instruments common were *Mizmar* (a kind of flute) and *Tambur* (lute or guitar).[74] The most popular instrument used in folk music is the *Rabab* which was borrowed from Persia. 'Ud, which was introduced in the time of Zainu'l-'Abidin,[75] is also common. The most popular types of folk music are the *Chhakkri, Tambur Naghma* and *Bacha Naghma,* all of which are sung in chorus with often a little dancing. Among these the most common is the first which is sung in spring to the accompaniment of the *Rabab.*[76]

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1. Sriv., p. 144.
2. Bernier, *Travels*, pp. 402, 415; Grierson and Barnet, *Lallu-Vakyani*, Intro. P.1.
3. *Razi, Haft Iqlim*, f.156a.
4. Compare this with Hiuen Tasiang's Statement in *Si-Y-Ki*, I, p.148 (Trans. Bele).
5. Kak, Handbook of Partab Sing Museum, Srinagar, pp. 4, 65.
6. Stein, BK. v. No. 177.
7. These were not confined to the narrow geographical limits of modern Persia, but extended to Central Asia and Northern India and even as far as Asia Minor.
8. Jonar., pp. 57-8.
9. Browne, Literary History of Persia, iii, 283.
10. See p. 90, supra. For more details, see my article in Indo-Iranica, vii, No. 3.
11. W.K., f. 61a; T.H., iv, f. 278b.
12. H.W., f. 160; T.H., iv, ff. 278b-9a.
13. H.M., f. 180a; T.H., iv, ff. 279a-b.
14. A.A. (Blochmann), p. 676 and n.
15. W.K., f. 63b; Sufi, ii, 457.
16. A.A. (Blochmann), p. 651 and n. 2; also Miskin, Ta'rikh-i-Kabir, pp. 170-71.
17. A.A (Blochmann), p. 191; also M.T., ii 266.
18. M.T., iii, 200-1; Suffi, ii, 360.
19. Ibid., iii, 201.

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39. Tazkira-i-Mulla Raona, ff. 511 a-b.
40. Ibid., f.513 a.
41. H.M., f. 118b; W.K., f.41a.
42. N.A., f. 29b; G.A., f. 110b; also S.A., p.10.
43. Miskin, Ta'rikh-i-Kabir, p.290.
44. J.R.A.S. (Bombay), xix, p.241.
45. Sriv., p. 151. T.A., iii, 457, says that very fine silk threads were produced in Kashmir during this period.
46. Hugel, Travels in Kashmir pp. 116-19; also Journal of the Royal Society of Arts, lxxx, p. 309.
47. Jammu and Kashmir State Handbook, p.309.
48. See for more detials, the excellent article by John Irwin, The Kashmir Shawls (The Marg, vi, No. I, pp. 43-50).
49. Sriv., p. 151.
50. George Watt, Indian Art Exhibition (1903), p. 16.
51. Ujfalvy, L'Art des Cuivres Anciens au Cachemere, p. 10. But Duhousset, Les Arts Decoratifs au Petit-Thibet au Cachemere, p. 386 (Revue d'Ethnographie, Sept-Oct., 1882) says that these handles represent a dauphin and not a dragon.
52. Ujfalvy, L'Art des Cuivres Anciens au Cachemere, p. 26.
53. Ibid.,. p. 29; The Legacy of Islam, p.122.
54. Ujfalvy, p. 28.
55. Sufi. Ii, 555, says that in the Victoria and Albert Museum there is a remarkable set of twenty-four paintings which were produced in Kashmir before the Mughal conquest. But

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20. Ibid., p.200 and n. 1.
21. Ibid., iii, 360.
22. Sastri, Kaugaksi-Grhya-Sutras, Intro.p 3, (Kashmir Series of Texts and studies, No. Xlix).
23. Buhler, Report on Tour, p.61.
24. This information was supplied to me by the Research and Publication Dept. Srinagar.
25. Kashmir Series of Texts and Studies, No. XL ii.
26. J.R.A.S., 1900, pp. 187 sqq.
27. Indische Studience, pp. 294, 347, 350.
28. Sriv., p. 157.
29. Ibid., pp. 255-7.
30. Ibid., p. 136.
31. Grierson, Linguistic Survery of India, Viii,, part ii, p. 237.
32. She sometimes uses Perstian words like Shikar. (Versa 15).
33. Nuru'd-Din uses words like asakh (Persian, ashiq) and lamakan. (Kaul, sumbul, gul, bulbul, dil, didat etc. (Ibid., Verses, 43-45, 58, 68).
34. Kaul, Kashmiri Lyrics, for some speclimens of his songs; also Tazkira-I-Masha'ikhi-i-Kashmir by Nasib.
35. Grieson, Linguistic Survey of India, vii, part ii, p. 237.
36. See p. 89, supra.
37. It is Kashmiri word meaning "a complex of love, longing, and a tugging at the heart." (Kaul, Kashmiri Lyrics, Intro. xi).
38. Khawariqu's-Salikin, f. 155b; W.K., f. 41a.

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68. Kashmir, iv, No. 6, p. 135.
69. A.A. (Blochmann), p. 680n.
70. Kashmir, iv, No. 6,pp. 135-7.
71. Mirza Nazir, Buhuru`l-alhan p. 15. All- these magams are included in the magamat of Persian music. See Tuzuk-i-Jahazgiri, ii, p.148, where reference has been made to the use of Indian musical modes. Also see Zamana, vol. 27, No.164, pp. 194-95.
72. Kashmir,iv, No. 6; Tazuk-I-Jahungiri, ii, p. 148.
73. Kashmir, iv, No. 6; Ibid., i, No.14.
74. B.S., f. 26a; Tazuk--i-Jahazgiri ii, p. 148.
75. Sriv., p. 136. 'Ud was probably an Iranian instrument. In Hijaz it was borrowed from Hira which was predominantly under Persian influnce.
76. Kashmir I, No. 14 and iv, Vo4. Rabab was specially favoured in Khurasan, and it must have been introduced into Kashmir from there in the time of Zainu`l-'Abdin. It was, however, a national instrument of the Arabs (See Farmer, *History of the Arabian Music,* p. 210

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56. T.A., iii,439.
57. Brown, Indian Painting under the Mughals, p. 121
58. Ibid., p.189.
59. Sufi, ii, 558.
60. A.A. (Blochmann), p. 109.
61. Ibid.
62. My attention was directedby Dr. Suniti Kamar Chatterjee to the existence of the relief in the Museum of the University of Pennsylvania. The Curator of the Museum very kindly sent me a reproduction of it as well as a copy of the University Museum Bulletin in which the relief has been described in detail. I am obliged to Dr. K.K, Ganguli of Calcutta University for helping me to write description of the relief.
63. Now only half a dozen tiles are on the building. A few are in the Srinagar Museum, but the rest have been taken away by the people as sacred relics. The tiles in the Patna Museum belonging to this building appear to be of the Mughal period.
64. Archaelogical Survery of India Report, (1909-7), pp. 163-4.
65. Calcutta Review, 1872, p. 30.
66. There are still some bridges over the canals built according to the old pattern.
67. Sriv., p. 231.

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CHAPTER XIV

CONCLUSION

We have seen that the Sultanate was founded in Kashmir not as a result of foreign invasion, but by a *coup d'etat* from within the country. Hindu rule in the Valley had been in a decadent state for nearly two centuries before the rise of the Shah Mir dynasty. The kings who occupied the throne were weak and their ministers corrupt; the Brahmans were dissatisfied with the ruling class; civil strife was almost continuous; trade languished, and agriculture was at a standstill. It was on account of these factors that Shah Mir, though a foreigner whose religion and culture were quite different from those of the inhabitants of Kashmir, was able to seize power and lay the foundation of his dynasty. Tired of civil war and anarchy, the people not only did not resist him, but they greeted him as a saviour, and willingly submitted to him, hoping that he would give them peace and good government. For the same reason his successors also continued to enjoy popular support, and no attempt was made to overthrow their power.

The Kashmiris were not, on the whole, disillusioned in their new rulers, for under the able rule of Shah Mir and his successors trade revived, agriculture flourished, the burden of taxation was lightened, and life and property were rendered secure. Moreover, kas under them once again opened its doors to foreign influence from Persia and Turkistan. This led to a clash of cultures, which resulted in a fresh renaissance in the country. Owing to the fusion of the

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Islamic ideals but from the monarchical traditions of India, Kashmir, and Persia.

The society in this period was feudal[1] and based on class distinctions; but, unlike contemporary societies, slavery did not exist. The king and the nobles led a very cultured life. They were interested in literature, played chess and polo, and cultivated music and the arts. However, in matters of sex, their outlook was on the whole puritanical. They showed no special inclination for the delights of the harem; they kept no concubines; and they hardly ever degraded themselves by indulging in licentious revelries. The influence of the '*Ulama* and Sufis was great, but it was generally confined a respectable section of the society, were politically unimportant. The peasantry, which formed the bulk of the population, being exposed to the hazards of floods and famines and exploitation by government officials, did not enjoy that well-being to which they were entitled by their labour. The period was characterised by great religious toleration. With the exception of Sikandar who persecuted the Hindus, Mirza Haidar who tyrannised the Nurbakhshiyas and Shi'ites, and Ya'qub Shah who was intolerant towards the Sunnis, the Kashmir rulers adopted an extremely liberal policy. The Kashmiris were supersitious, and were exploited both by the Mulla and the Pandit. Witty and intelligent, they were then, as now, very active and industrious. They were also very charitable; and they were so hospitable that they would not touch food without a guest. However, not only were they suspicious but also hostile towards foreigners, and it

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old and new elements a new type of architecture and music came into existence; Kashmiri language was enriched; but, above all, great progress was made in painting and the minor arts.

The impact of this foreign culture was so profound and far-reaching that even today they people of Kashmir bear its impress. Diet and dress, marriage and morals, manners and customs, art and literature were all affected by influences which radiated from Persia and Turkistan. But in many respects the changes brought about were only superficial: they were more in form rather than in spirit. There was change but no violent break. Customs, language, beliefs and practices were too deeply embedded in the people to be uprooted and replaced. The Kashmiris assimilated the new values, but the past was not eliminated; it was allowed to blend with the new. The result was the emergence of a society which, though differing from the old, was rooted in Indo-Kashmiri traditions. This is evident from a study of the Kashmiri language and literature, art and architecture, religious beliefs and social life.

The government in medieval Kashmir was an enlightened secular despotism. The rulers for the most part ignored the advice of the '*Ulama,* flouted the *Shari'a,* and pursued policies which were dictated not by religious but by practical and political considerations. From the contemporary accounts it is clear that the Sultans drew their inspiration not from the

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CONCLUSION

The extent of the kingdom over which the Sultans exercised authority varied from time to time. Shah Mir and his son 'Ala'u'd-Din ruled only the Kashmir Valley. Since they were pre-occupied with internal problems of law and order, they never attempted to extend their kingdom. It was Shihabu'd-Din, 'Ala'u'd-Din's son, who, after consolidating his position at home, embarked on a career of conquest. The kingdom which he brought under his rule was retained by his successors and the Chaks with occasional changes of boundaries. Thus their kingdom comprised the following territories:--(1) The Valley of Kashmir which was the heart and centre of the whole kingdom. (2) The region of the outer Hills which extended from the Ravi in the east to the Jehlam in the west and comprised Jammu, Rajauri and Punch. (3) Bhadrawah, the Valley of the Chinab, and Kishtwar which lay between the Outer Hills and the high ranges around the Valley of Kashmir. (4) Ladakh and Baltistan. (5) the Kishanganga Valley and the Pakhli region which lay between the upper courses of the Jehlam and the Indus.

Of this kingdom only the Kashmir Valley, and later on Lohara (Punch), were directly administered from Srinagar, while the rest of the territory was governed by its own Rajas who, however, paid tribute to the Sultan. It is important to remember that it was the policy of the kings of Kashmir to exercise some kind of control over the territories surrounding the Valley because of their economic and strategic importance. Thus Ladakh was necessary for Kashmir

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took a long time before their suspicion and hostility gave place to confidence and friendliness. The Kashmiris were brave and good fighters, and the lack of martial spirit which foreigners have attributed to them in modern times, is not due to any innate deficiency of courage, but is the result of a long period of political servitude.

Extent of the Kingdom.

The Sultans of Kashmir, like most kings, desired self-aggrandisement. But there were two factors owing to which they could not fully realize their ambition. First, Northern India was during this period ruled by the Sultans of Delhi and later on by the Mughals who were more powerful than the rulers of Kashmir. Under the circumstance, the latter never embarked on a career of conquest. It was only Shihabu'd-Din who tried to extend his kingdom beyond the Sutlej, but he met with such resistance that he had to withdraw. No Kashmiri ruler ever again made an attempt to follow his example. The other factor which set a limit to the policy of expansion of the Sultans, was the geographical situation of Kashmir. Since the Valley was surrounded by layers upon layers of huge mountain walls, the invasion was undertaken, as was done by Shihabu'd-Din, it could not effect any permanent occupation, for it was impossible to control distant countries across high mountain ranges from the Kashmir Valley. The area of operation of the Sultans was, therefore, confined to the sub-montane regions adjoining Kashmir on the west and the north.

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courtiers who robbed the people to enrich themselves. Muhammad Shah, Fath Shah, and the subsequent rulers, though not dissolute, proved incapable of controlling those elements which were leading the kingdom to its fall. The result was that the Shah Mir dynasty was overthrown. The Chaks, who succeeded, at first ruled with wisdom and firmness, but the fourth ruler, Yusuf Shah, passed his time in ease and luxury and neglected public affairs. His son and successor Ya'qub, though possessed of great energy and courage, was self-willed and intolerant, and was, therefore, unable to counter the dangers, both internal and external, which threatened the country.

One of the causes of the downfall of Hindu rule in the Valley had been the failure of the kings to crush the Damaras. Lalitaditya had laid down that the villagers should not be left with a greater food supply than was required for one year's consumption, nor more oxen than were wanted for the tillage of their fields.[4] This he had done in order to prevent the growth of a landed aristocracy which might cause him trouble. But unfortunately his successors did not act on his principles; nor did they adopt any other measures to check the power of the feudal lords. Shah Mir and his successors also made no attempt to strike at the basis of the system. The only thing which they did was to crush the turbulent chiefs and grant jagirs to those families who were prepared to serve them faithfully. They also tried to keep them weak and dependent by a policy of divided and rule. This system worked well so long as the rulers were strong, but after the death of Zainu'l-

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because it supplied wool required for the Kashmiri shawls, and was the centre of Kashmir's trade with Tibet, China, and Turkistan.[2] The control of Punch, Rajauri, and Jammu was necessary, for these places served as a spring board for an invasion of Kashmir. Moreover, the occupation of Punch and the hilly areas around Kashmir was also required as they were inhabited by turbulent tribes, who were accustomed to swoop on the Valley, plunder its inhabitants, and carry off women and children.[3] But despite all this, the hold of the Sultans over these territories, on account of the difficulties of communication across the high mountain barriers, was always weak and loose; and it ceased to exist during periods when the Valley was torn by civil strife and ruled by feeble kings.

CAUSES OF THE FALL OF THE SULTANATE

The Shah Mir dynasty produced from Shamsu'd-Din to Zainu'l-'Abidin a succession of able rulers who, by reducing the crushing burden of taxation and by maintaining a fairly regular system of administration, guaranteed to the population a period of relative tranquillity after the chaos and misrule of the Lohara period. But under the successors of Zainu'l-'Abidin, who were weak and incompetent, the state of the country reverted, with short interludes of stability, to that which had existed before the establishment of the Sultanate. Haidar Shahk, his son, and Hasan shah, his grandson, spent most of their time over the wine cup or listening to music, and neglected the administration which was left into the hands of their unscrupulous

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Jamshed as Sultan, and himself laid claim to the throne. This led to civil war. Shihabu'd-Din made a new departure by depriving his own sons of the throne in favour of his brother Qutbu'd-Din. Similarly Zainu'l-'Abidin designated his younger brother Mahmud as his heir apparent. But when the latter died, he declared his second son Haji Khan his successor to the exclusion of the eldest, Adham Khan. And soon afterwards, since Haji revolted, he proclaimed Adham his heir apparent. However, in the end, disgusted with all his sons he refused to nominate any one, leaving the title to the throne to be decided by force of arms. On the other hand, Zainu'l-'Abidin's grandson, Hasan Shah, left it to his queen to choose a ruler after his death, although his own preference was for Fath Khan, son of Adham Khan, since his own sons were minors. When he died, Sayyid Hasan, the Wazir and brother of the Queen Mother, set up Hasan Shah's son, Muhammad Shah, as ruler. But this did not prevent Fath Khan from claiming the throne. The result was that for thirty years the country was plunged into almost continuous internecine wars.

Under the Chaks also there was no fixed ruler of succession. Ghazi Shah, the founder of the dynasty, appointed his brother Husain Shah as his successor. When Husain Shah became Sultan, he tried to divert the succession to his own son, but failed because his brother 'Ali Shah rose in rebellion against him and seized the throne. Before he died, 'Ali Shah had his son Yusuf crowned as king. But Abdal, his brother, put forth his onw claim to the throne on the ground that it

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'Abidin, when the throne was occupied by weak king, it broke down, for the internal feuds revived, and the country was distracted between the warring houses struggling for the possession of the Sultan. In the end, through this welter of confusion, the Chaks emerged victorious by defeating their rivals, the Magres and the Rainas. They at first ruled in the name of the Shah Mir Sultans, but soon afterwards they themselves assumed sovereign powers and founded their dynasty.

The Chak rule, it must be remembered, was based on the hegemony of the Chak tribe. The Chaks, as a rule, unlike the Shah Mirs, did not raise to prominence any other family other than their own. In this way they endeavoured to make their rule strong and stable. But unfortunately this system, too, did not last long, because internecine dissensions and rivalries started, and the members of the ruling house did not hesitate to make common cause with the rival families against the own kinsmen. This led to constant conflicts, and as a result the country was once more plunged into chaos and anarchy. It was left to the Mughal Emperor Akbar to establish law and order by destroying the feudal system and substituting in its place rule by the Mughal officers.

The lack of any definite and fixed rule of succession caused no small measure of social and political chaos and instability in the kingdom. Shamsu'd-Din had established a precedent by nominating his eldest son Jamshed as his successor. But his younger son 'Ala'u'd-Din refused to acknowledge

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CONCLUSION

Under the Chak rulers also, owing to the liberal policy pursued by them until the time of Yusuf Shah,[5] the internecine conflicts were not in the least influenced by religious considerations. It is true that the affairs of Yusuf Aindar and Qazi Habib embittered the relations between the two communities.[6] When Yusuf was executed, the Shi'ite were filled with great resentment against the Sunnis; and similarly, when later on, Qazi Almas and Qazi Gana'I were executed for having sentenced Yusuf to death, it created great bitterness among the Sunnis. However, it did not lead to any armed conflict. In fact, the ill feelings engendered by these events would have been forgotten had it not been for Ya'qub Shah who began to pursue an intolerant policy towards the Sunnis. He first of all tried to compel Qazi Musa to recite the name of 'Ali in the public prayers, and when this was refused, he reopened the question of the death sentence pronounced on Yusuf, and had Musa put to death. This turned the Sunni '*Ulama* and nobles against Ya'qub. As a result, some of them proceeded to the court of Akbar and requested him to annex Kashmir, and when the Emperor sent an army for its invasion, they acted as guides.

The continuous discord and civil war weakened the administration, adversely affected trade and agriculture, and caused a decline in the general prosperity of the Valley. Another serious consequence of this internal strife was that it led to foreign invasions and to the eventual conquest of the Valley. On Hasan Shah's death one grouped of nobles set up his son

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was the practice in the family that when a ruler died his brother succeeded him. This led to an armed conflict with Yusuf. Although he was killed and Yusuf was victorious, other members of the lateral branch of the Chaks were not wanting in advancing their titles to the throne. Yusuf Shah's son and successor Ya'qub had to contend with the rival claimants, and this was one of the reasons whey he failed to mobilise all the forces for the defence of the Valley against the Mughals.

The sectarian discord between the Sunnis and the Shi'ite also contributed to the downfall of the Sultanate. Until the end of the fifteenth century the Muslim population of Kashmir consisted mainly of Sunnis, the Shi'ite being numerically and politically unimportant. But with the arrival of Mir Shamsu'd-Din in 1502, the number of Shi'ite gradually increased and they became politically influential. This roused the hostility of the Sunni chiefs who, incited by the orthodox *'Ulama,* came into conflict with the Shi'ite nobles. However, we must be careful not to overemphasize the importance of the religious factor, for, though religious differences added to the confusion in Kashmir, the main causes responsible for the civil wars were the personal jealousies and ambitions of the feudal chiefs. That is why we find that very often the alignment of forces cut across religious differences. Thus, at first, in the reign of Mirza Haidar,, the Sunnis and Shi'ite chiefs were pitted against one another, but later on, realising that Mirza Haidar was exploiting their differences in order to consolidate his position, they joined together and overthrew him.

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CONCLUSION

For centuries Kashmir, protected by its mountain ramparts, had lived an isolated life, little affected by the outside happenings. The invasions of the Arabs, Mahmud of Ghazi, and Timur had passed her by, while the rise and fall of dynasties in the plains of Hindustan had failed to disturb the course of her history. But with the Mughal conquest her isolation was ended, and henceforth she came within the orbit of Indian politics. Kashmir lost her separate identity and became like any other province of the Mughal Empire, while Srinagar sank to the status of a provincial town.

Another effect of the fall of the Sultanate was that the Kashmiri ruling families of Chaks, Magres, Rainas, and Dars were replaced by a hierarchy of Mughal officers who became responsible for the administration of the country. Besides, the defence of the Valley, too was undertaken by the Mughals. The result of this was that the Kashmiris gradually lost their martial spirit and fighting qualities of which they had given proof on many occasions in their struggles against the invaders. Furthermore, Kashmir during the Sultanate period had achieved a high standard of culture, but with the disappearance of her independence, her culture gradually declined. Srinagar was denuded of poets, painters, and scholars, who had once adorned the courts of the Sultans, because, owing to the absence of local patronage, they were compelled to leave the Valley and seek their livelihood elsewhere. They entered the service of the Mughal Emperors, and added to the brilliance of the imperial court thereby precipitating the cultural improvement of Kashmir.

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Muhammad Shah on the throne. But shortly afterwards the latter was replaced by Fath Shah who was supported by another party. Thrice Muhammad Shah became ruler, and thrice he was deposed. Finally, early in 1517, he proceeded to the court of Sikandar Lodi (1489-1517) and sought his help. After this it became a common practice with the Kashmiri princes and nobles to proceed, on being defeated by their rivals, to the courts of the Delhi Emperors and invoke their help. In 1540, while Abdal Magre brought a Mughal army from the Punjab under Mirza Haidar, his rival Kaji Chak secured the aid of Sher Shah. This invitation of foreign troops proved disastrous to the independence of Kashmir, for although Mirza Haidar came as a deliverer, he made himself master of the country. After the fall of Mirza Haidar, when the Chaks came to power, Kashmir was again subjected to foreign invasions through the invitations of its discontented nobles and princes. But these were repelled by the courage and resourcefulness of 'Idi Raina, Daulat Chak and Ghazi Chak. In January 1580, Yusuf Shah, driven from his country, proceeded to Fathpur Sikri and sought the help of Akbar. This was readily given, and although it was not employed, it provided the Emperor with a *casus belli* for the invasion of Kashmir. Yusuf's successor, Ya'qub, carried on a valiant resistance against the Mughal armies, but owing to the internal disunity, he failed to drive out the invaders. The result was that Kashmir lost her independence. "People say", wrote Du Jarric, that the Great Mogor would never have been able to subdue it but for the factions which existed among the inhabitants."[7]

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APPENDIX A

THE NURBAKHSHIYA SECT OF KASHMIR

THE founder of the Nurbakhshiya sect was Sayyid Muhammad b. Muhammad b. 'Abdu'llah who was born in Qa'in in Kohistan in 795 A.H./1393 A.D. After finishing his education he became a disciple of Khwaja Ishaq of Khatlan,, who was himself a disciple of Sayyid 'Ali Hamadani.[1] Khwaja Ishaq gave him the title of "Nur Bakhsh" and conferred upon him the mantle of Sayyid 'Ali Hamadani, and then acclaimed him as the *Mahdi*, the Lord of his time, and Imam. But this brought Sayyid Muhammad Nur Bakhsh to the notice of Shah Rukh, Timur's son and successor, who had him thrown into prison. As he did not completely renounce his pretensions, he had to undergo thrice long terms of imprisonment; and it was only at Shah Rukh's death in 850 A.H./ 1447 A.D. that he finally secured his freedom. He then settled in Ray where he died in 869 A.H./ 1464 A.D. at the age of seventy-three. He was succeeded by his son Shah Qasim as his Khalifa (d. 981 A.H./ 1573 A.D.).[2]

The Nurbakhshiya movement was of a mystical character. Sayyid Muhammad Nur Bakhsh claimed to have seen the divine light and to have received the esoteric teachings of 'Ali through the Imam Ja'far-i-Sadiq. He believed in Sufi pantheism and in the renunciation of this world's vanities. To achieve "*fana,*" the merging of the Self into the Divine, it was necessary to submit completely to the will of the Master, and then to undergo a long course "of service, solitude, meditation, and companionship." The

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REFERENCE

1. I have used feudalism here in the sense in the power in Kashmir was mainly derived from land, and the conferring of jagirs was a very important social and political institution. But this feudalism should not be confused with the feudalism of Western Europe, which had quite a different basis.

2. See the section in Trade under Chapter XII.

3. Stein, B.K, I No. 317n.; Sriv., pp. 278, 334-35.

4. Stein, BK. iv, Nos. 347-52.

5. A.N., iii, 763.

6. *Ibid.*, Suka, p. 304, also notes the Shi'ite and Sunni differences during the reign of Ya'qub Shah.

7. Du Jarric, Akbar and the Jesuits, p. 76.

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had crept into Islam.[6] Their ideas are contained in the work known as *Fiqh-i-Ahwat.*[7]

The Nurbakhshiya sect in Kashmir was introduced by Shamsu'd-Din who was born in the village of Kund near Solghan. His father was a Musavi Sayyid, and his mother came from a Sayyid family of Qazvin.[8] No details are available of his early life, and how he was converted to the Nurbakhshiya beliefs. However, it appears from his subsequent career that he must have received good education, for we know that he was eloquent of speech and a man of learning. These qualities brought him to the notice of Sultan Husain Mirza Baiqara (1469-1506) of Herat, who took him into his service and sent him as his envoy in 1481 to the court of Sultan Hasan Shah of Kashmir.[9] He stayed in the Valley for eight years. Being an envoy he could not carry on his missionary activities openly. He therefore preached secretly, and converted Baba Isma'il Kubravi and Baba 'Ali Najjar to his faith. He was however found out, and owing to the hostility of the orthodox *'Ulama,* he was compelled to leave Kashmir.[10] On his return to Herat he aroused the suspicions of Sultan Husain Mirza on account of his religious views. Alarmed at this, Shamsu'd-Din left the Sultan's service, and went to live with Shah Qasim, the son of Sayyid Muhammad Nur Bakhsh, at Ray. Meanwhile, news came from Kashmir that Baba Isma'il, whom he had appointed as his representative, had renounced the Nurbakhshiya beliefs and had relapsed into orthodoxy.[11] As Shamsu'd-Din possessed first-hand knowledge of the Valley, Shah Qasim

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organisation of the Nurbakhshiya *khanqahs* was similar to that of the *khanqahs* belonging to the other Sufi Orders; and the *Zikr* ceremonies of the Nurbakhshiya also resembled those performed by the Sufis belonging to the Qadiri, Kubravi and Naqshbandi Orders. But their most important ceremonies were performed during the *Araba'in,* when new members were initiated into the Nurbakhshiya mysteries, whole night vigils were maintained, prayers offered, and lectures delivered with quotations from Ghazzali, Bistami, and Junaid. *Ghazals* too were recited during these days, and they had such an effect that the Sufis went into ecstasies and started dancing.[3]

In his teachings, Sayyid Muhammad Nur Bakhsh was also influenced by Shi'ism. Like the Shi'ites he believed that the Imam should be immaculate, just, brave, the knower of all things, and a descendant of 'Ali and Fatima. He enjoyed love for the *Ahl-i-Bait* (the family of the Prophet), and both he and his followers never ceased emphasizing that their object was to spread the religion of Muhammad and the Twelve Imams.[4] The Nurbakhshiyas celebrated Muharram, and some of them even wore black dress as an expression of grief for the martyrdom of Husain.[5] They practised *Mut'ah,* reviled 'Aisha, the wife of the Prophert, and the first three Caliphs. However, like the Sunnis, they accepted the *Ijma'* or the consensus of opinion, though they rejected the practices forced upon by the rulers and represented as the result of *Ijma'*. Their claim was to revive the teachings of Muhammad, enforce the *Shari'a,* and root out innovations and accretions that

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raised all kinds of difficulties in the way of Shamsu'd-Din's activities, and even began to persecute his followers. Shamsu'd-Din therefore left Kashmir with fifty of his followers, and went to Baltistan where he continued his missionary activities, and succeeded in converting many of its Buddhist inhabitants to his creed.[21] He remained there for two months until the defeat and death of Sayyid Muhammad [22] in 1505, when at the invitation of Musa Raina he returned to Srinagar. Shamsu'd-Din's great opportunity came when Musa Raina became prime minister after the fall of Shams Chak. During the period he remained in power, he gave full support to Shamsu'd-Din in his activities. A further source of strength to the latter was the conversion of Taji Chak and other Chak nobles. Thus by the time Shamsu'd-Din died[23] the Nurbakhshiya had gained a strong footing in the Valley. After his death his work was carried on by his son Daniyal and other of his Khalifas.

But the Nurbakhshiyas suffered a great setback in the time of Mirza Haidar Dughlat, who persecuted them thinking that if there was uniformity of religion in Kashmir there would be peace in the country.[24] After the fall and death of Mirza Haidar in 1551 the Chaks began to play a dominant role in the politics of the Valley, and, as a result, the Nurbakhshiyas were once again permitted to preach and practice their religion freely. But, meanwhile, a great change had come over the Nurbakhsiya beleifs under the influence of Persia where Shah Isma'il, the founder of the Sàfavid dynasty (1502-1736), had declared Shi'ism or the doctrines of

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directed him to proceed there and revive and spread the Nurbakhshiya ideas.[12] Shamsu'd-Din was however anxious to go to Baghdad and take the place of Maulana Burhanu'd-Din who had died. But on Shah Qasim's advice and insistence, he agreed to proceed to Kashmir.[13]

Shamsu'd-Din left Ray about the end of September, 1501, accompanied by a number of sufis and their families.[14] On the way he paid a visit to the tomb of Imam Raza at Mashhad. He then travelled to Qandahar, and from there proceeded to Multan. Thence he set out towards the Salt Range, and after spending his winter there, he entered Kashmir early in the spring of 1502 by the Punch-Baramula route.[15]

On reaching Srinagar he won the confidence of Baba 'Ali Najjar who handed over to him all his disciples.[16] But the most important convert that he made at this time was Musa Raina, a powerful noble of Kashmir, who gave him money to carry on his work,[17] and land at Jaddi Bal to build a *khanqah.* The foundation of the hospice was laid in 1503-04, and it was built the next year.[18] But in spite of the initial success, Shamsu'd-Din had to face great obstacles later on. He was opposed by Sayyid Muhammad Baihaqi,[19] Muhammad Shah's prime minister, and by the orthodox *'Ulama* who were hostile to the new creed. Sayyid Muhammad had, on the advice of the *'Ulama,* opposed the construction of the Khanqah-i-Nurbakhshiya by Shamsu'd-Din, and had only given him permission on account of Musa Raina's influence.[20] However, he

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REFERENCE

1. See for his life A.A. Hikmet, *Les Voyages d'un Mystique Person de Hamadau an Kashmir (La Journal Asiatique, ccxi, pp. 54 ff; also Yaghma, iv, No. 8, pp. 337 ff).*

2. For a detailed account of the life of Sayyid Muhammad Nur Bakhsh, see Mirza Ma'sum, *Tara'iqu'l-Haqa'iq*, pp. 143-44; and Nuru'llah Shushtari, *Majalisu'l Mu'minn*, pp. 313 ff. See also Muhammad Shafi, *The Nurbakhshiya Sect (Oriental College Magazine, Feb. 1925).* The article in the Encyclo. Of Islam, vol iii, is mainly based on *the Majalisu'l-Mu 'minin.*

3. *Tuhfatu'l Ahbab*, pp. 120-24. The MS. is not folioed but paged, and therefore I have referred to page numbers.

4. Nuru'llah Shushtari, *Majalisul'Mu'minin*, p. 315; *Tuhfatu'l-Ahbab*, pp, 20, 23. Nuru'llah Shushtari regards Sayyid Muhammad as a Shi'ite, but this is incorrect, because the latter's pantheistic ideas and his claim to be an Imam and a Mahdi were completely opposed to the Shi'ite doctrines.

5. *Majalisu'l-Mu'minin*,p. 317.

6. *Ibid.*, 315; *Tuhfatu'l- Ahbab*, p. 20. See also *Ta'rikh-i-Rashidi*, but Mirza Haidar is not always just to the Nurbakhshiya.

7. Chaks maintined (maintained) that the book was not written by Shamsu'd Din. But this is incorrect See Firishta, p.647(Bombay (Mumbai) Edition).

8. B.S., f. 60a.

9. *Tuhfatul'Ahbab*, p..13; also W.K., f. 36b; and B.S., ff. 60a-b.

10. *Tuhfatu'l-Ahbab, p. 4.*

11. *Ibid.*, p.6.

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the *Twelvers* as the state religion, the Nurbakhshiya took on increasingly the character of a Shi'ite movement. It gradually shed those of its doctrines which were in conflict with Shi'ism, until there was nothing left to distinguish it from the latter. Thus the Chaks, who enjoyed a brief spell of power in Kashmir and who had been converted to the Nurbakhshiya by the efforts of Shamsu'd-Din, called themselves Shi'ites.[25] When Akbar conquered the Valley in 1586, there were still some Nurbakhshiyas[26] left, but in the course of time they disappeared, some becoming Sunnis, while others embracing Shi'ism. In remote areas, however, where external influences had some difficulty in penetrating, the Nurbakhshiyas survived, but their beliefs and practices were greatly diluted by the influence of the local Sunni communities.[27]

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24. B.S.,f. 11b. See pp. 137 sqq. *supra, for* details of this persecution.

25. *Firishta* says that during his time most of the soldiers were Shii'tes. The Chaks, who were Shii'tes, maintained that Shamsu'd-Din was a Shii'tes,

26. A.A., ii, 354.

27. For the Nurbakhshiyas in modern times, see Census of India, 1911, Vol. XX, Kashmir , part, 1, p. 105; and Biddulph, *Tribes of the Hindu Kush,* p. 125.

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12. *Ibid.*, p.8.

13. *Ibid* ., pp. 14-16.

14. Tuhafu'l-Ahbab (Tuhfatu'l-Abab). P.3

15. *Tuhfatu'l -Ahbab.* pp. 24-25

16. During the absence of Shamsu'd-Din, Baba 'Ali had remained unlike Baba Isma'il Kubravi, attached to the new creed. (See *Majalisu'l'Mu'minin* MS.f. 670b).

17. *Tuhfatu'l- Ahbab,* p. 29.

18. *Ibid* ., p. 64.

19. The Baihaqi Sayyids came to Kashmir during the reign of Sultan Sikandar (1389-1413). They married in the royal family, and played an important part in the political affairs of the Valley.

20. *Tuhfatu'l-Ahbab, 54-55.*

21. *Ibid.*, pp. 63-64.

22. When this news was communicated to Shamsu'd-Din, he was so angry with the messenger that he belaboured him for bringing such a bad news. Shamus'd-Din, unlike common expectations, felt sad and prayed for the long life of the sons of Sayyid Muhammad who had surrived the civil war (B.S.), ff. 76b-77a; Tuhfatu'l-Ahbab. P. 70.

23. *Tuhfatul'Ahbab,* does not record the date of Shamsu'd-Din's death. But from a study of the work it appears that he must have died just before the first invasion of Kashmir by Mirza Haidar in 1533. (See also N.A., f. 69b).

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REFERENCE

24. B.S.,f. 11b. See pp. 137 sqq. *supra, for* details of this persecution.

25. *Firishta* says that during his time most of the soldiers were Shii'tes. The Chaks, who were Shii'tes, maintained that Shamsu'd-Din was a Shii'tes,

26. A.A., ii, 354.

27. For the Nurbakhshiyas in modern times, see Census of India, 1911, Vol. XX, Kashmir , part, 1, p. 105; and Biddulph, *Tribes of the Hindu Kush,* p. 125.

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12. *Ibid.*, p.8.

13. *Ibid* ., pp. 14-16.

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APPENDIX B

CURRENCY, COINAGE, WEIGHTS AND MEASURES

Currency.

Persian annals of Kashmir hardly throw any light on the monetary system under the Shah Mirs and the Chaks. The little information that we get is from Abu'l Fazl's *A'in* and from the four Sanskrit chronicles.

The monetary system of Kashmir did not undergo any basic change under the Sultans, but remained more or less the same as it had been under the Rajas.[1] The coinage under the Sultans consisted almost entirely of copper, the copper coins being called Kasiras or Punchhus.[2] But the unit of the Kashmir monetary system was the cowrie, which was used for fractional payments or minor purchases.[3] Zainu'l-'Abidin is said to have struck coins in lead and brass. Silver coins were uncommon,, while gold coins were rare. In fact, it should be noted that gold and silver did not form an important part of the actual coined currency of Kashmir. However, it appears that under the Chaks silver and gold coins were more in use than under the Shah Mirs. This is probably due to the close relation with the Mughal Empire.[4]

The Kashmir currency under the Sultans consisted of *dinar, bahagani, punchhu, hath, sasun, lakh,* and *crore.* The following were their values:--

12 *Dinars*	=1	*Bahangani*
2 *Bahagani*	=1	*Punchhu*

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Rogers, Lane-Poole, Wright, and others still remain unchallenged. It is therefore difficult to say any thing beyond summarising the views of these writers. Fresh light can only be thrown in case some new and varied specimens are unearthed.

No coins of the Kashmir Sultans are known to exist earlier than those of Sultan Sikandar. The silver coins bearing the name of Shams Shah should be regarded as belonging to Shahmsu'd-Din II and not to Shamsu'd-Din I, the founder of the Sultanate in Kashmir.[9] The Kashmir coins possess certain characteristics which distinguish them from the coins of the Sultans of Delhi. In the first place they are extremely inartistic.As Rogers observes: "Kashmiris were the worst die-sinkers of the world".[10] Moreover, the coins vary very little, and there is a certain monotony about them. Secondly, they are not very helpful in fixing the dates of accession and regnal periods of the rulers. This is due partly to the fact that the dates on a large number of coins are not legible, and partly because the same date is employed by successive rulers. No consideration was paid to chronology when the Sultans struck coins in honour of their predecessors.[11]

Copper Coins

The copper coins are very common. However, as they are not obtainable in a legible form, they are not useful in fixing the chronology of Kashmir. They are

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4 *Punchhu*	=1	*Hath*
10 *Hath*	=1	*Sasun*
100*Sasun*	=1	*Lakh*
100 *Lakh*	=10,000,000 *Dinars or 1 Koti (Crore)*	

In addition to these coins other types of coins were also used. Thus, copper pieces of Toramana were current under the Sultans before the time of Hasan Shah. But the latter, finding that they were no longer circulating, struck a new coin called *dvidinari* made of lead.[5] There is also reference in the chronicles to *ashrafis* and *tankas* which Muhammad Shah's queen spent to erect a *khanqah* for Mir Shamsu'd-Din.[6] Sometimes bullion took the place of gold and silver coins. Thus under Sikandar and Zainu'l-'Abidin the *Jizya* was paid in silver. Under the Chaks it was paid in *panas*. But what coin is meant by the *pana* is not clear.[7] Rice was also employed in payment of rents, fines, and interest. All wages and salories were paid in Kharwars of rice. Thus the monetery system of Kashmir, though based on the cowrie unit, was represented in its main bulk by a copper coinage and was supplemented in all important transactions of public business and private life by *kharwars* of rice.[8]

Coinage

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which must have been struck towards the end of his reign. The coin of Yusuf Shah bearing 986/1578-9 must have been struck immediately after his accession early in 1579.[17]

Silver Coins

The silver coins are square-shaped, and their weight varies from 91 to 96 grains, and breadth from 6″ to 65″. The lightest coin is of Shamsu'd-Din II, and the heaviest is that of Yusuf Shah.[18] There is a certain monotony about the silver coins: they are all square-shaped and have some kind of lozenge on the reverse.[19] The silver coins are not as common as the copper ones.

As has already been pointed out, the coins of the Kashmir Sultans are not much useful from the point of view of determining chronology. Thus though Zainu'l-'Abidin reigned for fifty years, all his silver coins have the date of 842 both in figures and words: the figures appearing on the obverse, and the words in Arabic on the margin of the reverse. This date is in fact borne on the coins of rulers who reigned long after 842, so they do not help in determining the chronology of the period, but only add to the confusion.[20] Thus the silver coins of Ibrahim Shah (i) and Ibrahim Shah(ii). are dated 842 in Arabic words.[21] Similarly the silver coins of Muhammad Shah, which are rare, also bear 842.[22] However, one of his coins bears the date 895/1490 and that of Fath Shah the date 896.[23] These coins are very important. Muhammad Shah's coin bearing the date

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round in shape with an average diameter of 8" and weight varying from 71 to 100 grams. The obverse has a bar (a line across the middle of the coin) with a central knot of arabesque design. The knot is in some cases elaborate; in others it consists of a carelessly formed circle. The name of the king is written below the bar, but above come the word *Sultanu'l-A'zam.* In every case, except that of Zainu'l-'Abidin, the word *Shah* is added to the name. But Zainu'l-'Abidin is the only Sultan who calls himself *Na'ib-i-Amiru'l-Mu'minin.*. The reverse is occupied completely with "*Zarb-i-Kashmir*" and the year is added in Arabic words. The coins of Husain Shah, 'Ali Shah, and Yusuf Shah mention the year in Persian instead of Arabic.[12]

Although some of the coins of Zainu'l-'Abidin conform to the year and knot form, he was the only ruler to have introduced a new type. He not only struck coins in copper, but also in brass. His coins have the word *zarb* crossed by the word *Kashmir,* and around these words is a quarterfoil lozenge with elaborate knots in the outer corners.[13] In some of his coins on the obverse the names and titles are in double-circle, surrounded by a circle of dots.[14] Unlike Zainu'l-'Abidin's silver coins, which have the date 842 A.H., his copper coins bear 841 and 851.[15] What is the significance of these dates; it is impossible to say. A copper coin of Muhammad Shah and Fath Shah bears the date 874/1470.[16] This must have been coined in honour of Haidar Shah who reigned from 1470 to 1472. One coin of Husain Shah bears the date 977/1569-70,

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title. The Chak rulers call themselves *Padshah* and *Ghazi,* but, in addition, each ruler adopts a separate title.

In the time of Nazuk shah, while Haidar Shah was the *de facto* ruler of Kashmir, coins were struck in the name of Humayun. These coins are of the same type as those of the preceding kings. One of the coins bears H, which is a letter of Mirza Haidar's name. The dates of these coins fall within the period during which Mirza Haidar ruled .[25] One silver coin, however, bears the name of Nadir Shah with the date 957/1550. No king of such name ruled Kashmir. It must have been therefore, the title or second name of Nazuk Shah II, and must have been struck towards the close of Mirza Haidar's rule. There are also other coins of Nadir Shah, but they are not legible[26]. A few silver coins bearing the name of Islam Shah and the date 957 have also been found. Since he never ruled Kashmir, the nobles of the country must have struct them as a compliment to him and in order to get his support against Mirza Haidar.[27.]

The number of gold coins so far discovered is very small. Each of them weighs about 175 grains. The obverse presents the *kalima* in a circle. The mint name is represented in Arabic by the epithet *Daru's-Sultanat* (Seat of the Sultante and by a motto "May it be preserved from destruction". The reverse contains the name of the Sultan and his titles. But there is a great diversity of reverse legend. Zainu'l-Abidin is called *Naibi-i-Amiru'l-Muminin Qutbu'd-Din Abu'l*

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895 must have been coined towards the close of his first reign, while Fath Shah must have struck his coin at his accession after November 14, 1490, when the year 896 began. Haidar Shah's coins bear the date 874/1470 which was the year of his accession. But it must have been struck after May 12, 1470, when Zainu'l-'Abidin died, and before the beginning of 875 which began on June 30, 1470. Although Hasan Shah's coins have the year 842 in Arabic words, on the obverse they have the date 876/1472, the year of his accession.[24] The coins of Husain Shah Chak bear the date 970/1562-63, which signifies the year of his accession. Another of his coins bears 972. The coins bearing the name of 'Ali Shah Chak must have been minted by his son Yusuf Shah because of the dates ranging from 987 to 990 which they bear. These must have been coined by Yusuf Shah in honour of his father. However, one coin bearing the date 980 was coined by 'Ali shah himself. Another coind of his bearing the date 986/1578-79 must have been minted by him towards the end of his reign. One of Yusuf Shah's coins, which must have been struck shortly after his accession, is dated 987. Like the copper coins, the silver coins of Husain Shah, 'Ali Shah, and Yusuf Shah bear the dates in Persian.

On the obverse the silver coins have the inscription *Zarb-i-Kashmir,* enclosed within a lozenge-shaped border of wavy lines, and the date is inscribed in the segments outside the lozenge. The reverse contains the name of the king with his title. All the Shah Mir Sultans have the title of *Sultanu'l-A'zam* and *Shah* with the exception of Zainu'l-'Abidin who has only the first

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1. See Stein, ii ,308-28, for more details about the monetary system of Kashmir.
2. *Ibid.*,312, 315.
3. Sriv., p. `101; see also Stein, ii, 324.
4. *Ibid.*, 318
5. Sriv., p. 228.
6. S.A., p. 48.
7. Stein. ii. 318, and n. 48.
8. *Ibid.*, 328.
9. J.R.N.S., xii (vth series), p. 261.
10. J.A.S.B., lxv (1896), p. 223.
11. *Ibid.*, liv (1885), pp. 95-7.
12. *Ibid.*, xiviii (1879), p. 282.
13. *Ibid.*
14. *Ibid.*,p. 284.
15. Lane-Poole, *Coins of the Muhammad an States of India, pp. 71-2.*
16. J.A.S.B., liv (1885), p. 96.
17. *Ibid.*, xlviii (1879), p. 285.
18. *Catalogue pf Coins in the Indian Museum, Calcutta, p.* 190; also J.A.S.B., liv (1885). P. 97.

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Mujahidu'l-Adilu's-Sultan. Haidar Shah's gold coin and also bears on the reverse *Naib-i-Khalifatu'r-Rahmnanu's-Sultan.* Zainu'l-'Abidin and Haidar Shah are the only Sultans of Kashmir who regard themselves as deputies of the reigning Caliph. A gold coin of Hasan Shah is called *Nagin-i-Mulk khatim-i-Sulaiman* (Signet of the kingdom, Solomon's seal). The coins of Humayun, Ibrahim Shah, and Mubarak Shah bear different legends. [28]

Weights and Measures

16 Mashas= 1 Tola
80 Tolas= 1 Seer
71/2Pals = 1 Seer
4 Seers or 1 Maund= Tarak (5 Seers of present day)
16 Taraks= 1 Kharwar
1 Kharwar=1bs. Or 83 Seers of present day.
1 Gira=21/4 Inches
16 Giras = 1 Gaz
20 Giras= 1 Gaz (employed in measuring pashmina cloth).

In India land was divided into plots each of which was called *bigha.* But in Kashmir each plot was called *patta.* This was equal to 1 bigha and 1 *biswa* according to the *llahi* Gaz which is equal to 33 inches of the present day. The Kashmir is, however, reckoned 21/2 *pattas* as equal to 1 *bigha* (Kashmir)[9]. Under Zainu'l-'Abidin the length of the *jarib was increased*[30], but the details are not know.

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APPENDIX (C)

THE CHRONOLOGY AND GENEALOGY OF THE SULTANS OF KASHMIR

There are two main reasons why the chronology of the Sultans of Kashmir is so obscure. In the first place, the chronicles do not agree with each other in regard to the dates of accession of the rulers and their regnal periods. In the second, the coins are not much helpful in fixing the chronology.

Sir Wolseley Haig was the first to make a serious attempt to fix the chronology of the Kashmir rulers; but the mistake which he made was that he mainly utilised the *Tabaqat-i-Akbari,* the *Ta'rikh-i-Firishta,* and the *A'in-i-Akbari,* and completely ignored the Sanskrit chronicles.[1] Recently Dr. A.K. Majumdar has made a study of the subject; but, while he has made use of the Sanskrit chronicles and the Mughal accounts, he has not consulted the Persian chronicles of Kashmir.[2] Only when all the important authorities have been carefully studied, can the chronology and the geneology of the Medieval rulers of Kashmir be correctly constructed.

The most reliable authority for the early history of the Shah Mir dynasty upto the 19th year of Zainu'l-'Abidin's reign is Jonaraja. Srivara, his pupil, is a contemporary authority for the period from about 1459 to 1486, the year of Muhammad Shah's first reign. There should, therefore, be no difficulty in regarding the dates given by Jonaraja and Srivara as correct. Haidar Malik, the author of the *Baharistan-i-Shahi,*

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19. *Ibid.*

20. J.R.N.S., xiii (vth series), p. 257.

21. J.A.S.B., liv (1885), p. 125.

22. *Ibid.*, p. 110.

23. Lane-Poole, *Coins of the Muhammad an States of India, pp. 76-8.*

24. J.A.S.B., liv (1885). pp. 96-7.

25. J.A.S.B., liv (1885), p. 116.

26. *Ibid.*, p. 97.

27. *Ibid.*, p. 119.

28. J.R.N.S., xiii (vth series). pp. 261 sqq.

29. A.N., iii, 830-31.

30. T.A., iii, 436.

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time during this period . Actually the period was divided between him and Muhammad Shah, the former ruling for seven years (1486-1493) and the latter for twelve years (1493-1505). In 1505,[6] Fath Shah for the second time captured the throne and ruled for nine years (1505-14).[7] It is to this period of Fath Shah's reign that Suka refers and not to his first. Moreover, the events which Suka describes took place not in Fath Shah's first reign, but in his second reign. This is evident from a study of the Persian chronicles of Kashmir. Nizamu'd-din and Abu'l-Fazl, however, make the mistake of regarding the second reign of Fath Shah as his first reign. That is why Fath Shah, according to them, ruled twice and Muhammad Shah four times, although in reality they ruled thrice and five times respectively.

Muhammad Shah captured power for the third time in 1514. He had ruled only nine months when Fath Shah invaded the Valley and seized the throne for the third time[8]. Driven from the Valley, Muhammad Shah proceeded to Sikandar Lodi and secured his help. Now Sikandar Lodi died on November 21, 1517, and so Muhammad Shah must have received help about the middle of that year. With the aid of the Afghan troops Muhammad Shah succeeded in defeating Fath Shah and occupying the throne. He ruled for about twelve years (1517-28) for the fourth time. He was dethroned by his Wazir, Kaji Chak, who raised his son, Ibrahim, to the throne. Meanwhile, Kaji's rival, Abdal Magre, proceeded to Delhi, and having obtained the aid of

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Abu'l-Fazl, and Nizamu'd-Din have all derived their chronology from the Sanskrit accounts. That in spite of this their dates differ not only from each other but also with those assigned by Jonaraja and Srivara, is due to the fact that they made mistakes in converting the *Laukika* era, which is a solar era, into the *Hijra*, which is a lunar era.

Some of the dates assigned by Jonaraja and Srivara can be checked by the coins of the Sultans by the contemporary Persian accounts. Thus the date of the accession of Zainu'l-'Abidin given by Jonaraja as 1420 is supported by the *Ta'rikh-i-Mubarak Shahi,* a contemporary authority.[3] The year assigned for the death of Sultan by Srivara is 1470. This date agrees with the date of Haidar Shah's accession as determined by legends on coins .[4] The date of Haidar Shah's death in 1472 is corroborated by legends on the coins of his son and successor Hasan Shah. [4] The date of the latter's death and the dates in connection with the first reign of his son, Muhammad Shah, have been given by Srivara. And since the latter was connected with the court of Hasan Shah we must accept his chronology.

The main difficulty that arises is in connection with the dates of the first period of Fath Shah's reign. This is because there is a gap in Prajyabhatta's account from 1486 to 1514. When Srivara left off writing his narrative, the throne was occupied by Fath Shah. At the time Suka began his work, we find Fath Shah again on the throne. Now as is evident from the Persian chronicles of Kashmir, Fath Shah did not rule all the

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1. Haig, *The Chronology and Geneology of the Muhammadan Kings of Kashmir,* (J.R.A.S., 1918. Pp. 451-68).

2. Majumdar, *A Note on the Chronology of the Sultans of Kashmir in the A 'in-Akbari* (J.A.S.B., xxii, pp. 86-97).

3. See p. 69 and n. 8.

4. J.A.S.B., lxv, (1896), p. 225, cited in J.R.A.S., 1918, p. 456.

5. If J.R.A.S., 1918, p. 457.

6. B.S., f, 77b. B.S. gives the date in *Laukika* era as 81/1505. The *Hijra* date of 907/1501 is incorrect.

7. Suka, p. 34 f.

8. Suka, p. 347.

9. T.A., iii, 463.

10. B.S., ff. 102a-b; Suka, p. 375.

11. B.S., 102b; Suka, 375.

12. See p. 146 and n. 7, *supra.*

13. B.S., 106a; H.M., 144b.

14. See p. 151 and notes 3-5 *supra*

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Babur, conquered the Valley. He dethroned Ibrahim Shah, and in his place set up Nazuk Shah, the son of Fath Shah, on the throne (1529). But Nazuk Shah ruled only for a year, for Muhammad Shah was released from prison and enthroned in 1530. This date of Muhammad Shah's fifth restoration must be regarded as correct, because, according to the *Tabaqat-i-Akbar,* Babur's death took place shortly after this event[9]. Muhammad Shah ruled until his death in 1537[10]. He was succeeded by his son Shamsu'd-Din;[11] and on the latter's death in 1540, Kaji set up his own son-in-law, Isma'il, another son of Muhammad Shah, on the throne[12]. When Mirza Haidar occupied Kashmir, Isma'il fled the country, and Nazuk Shah was proclaimed king. He remained on the throne until 1552, when he was deposed by Daulat Chak in favour of Ibrahim, who had ruled before[13]. But Ghazi, on seizing power, enthroned Isma'il; and on the latter's death in 1557 his son Habib was made Sultan. But in 1561, Ghazi himself assumed the crown, and thus founded the Chak dynasty[14].

The chronology of the subsequent rulers of Kashmir does not present any difficulty, and can easily be fixed with the help of contemporary accounts.

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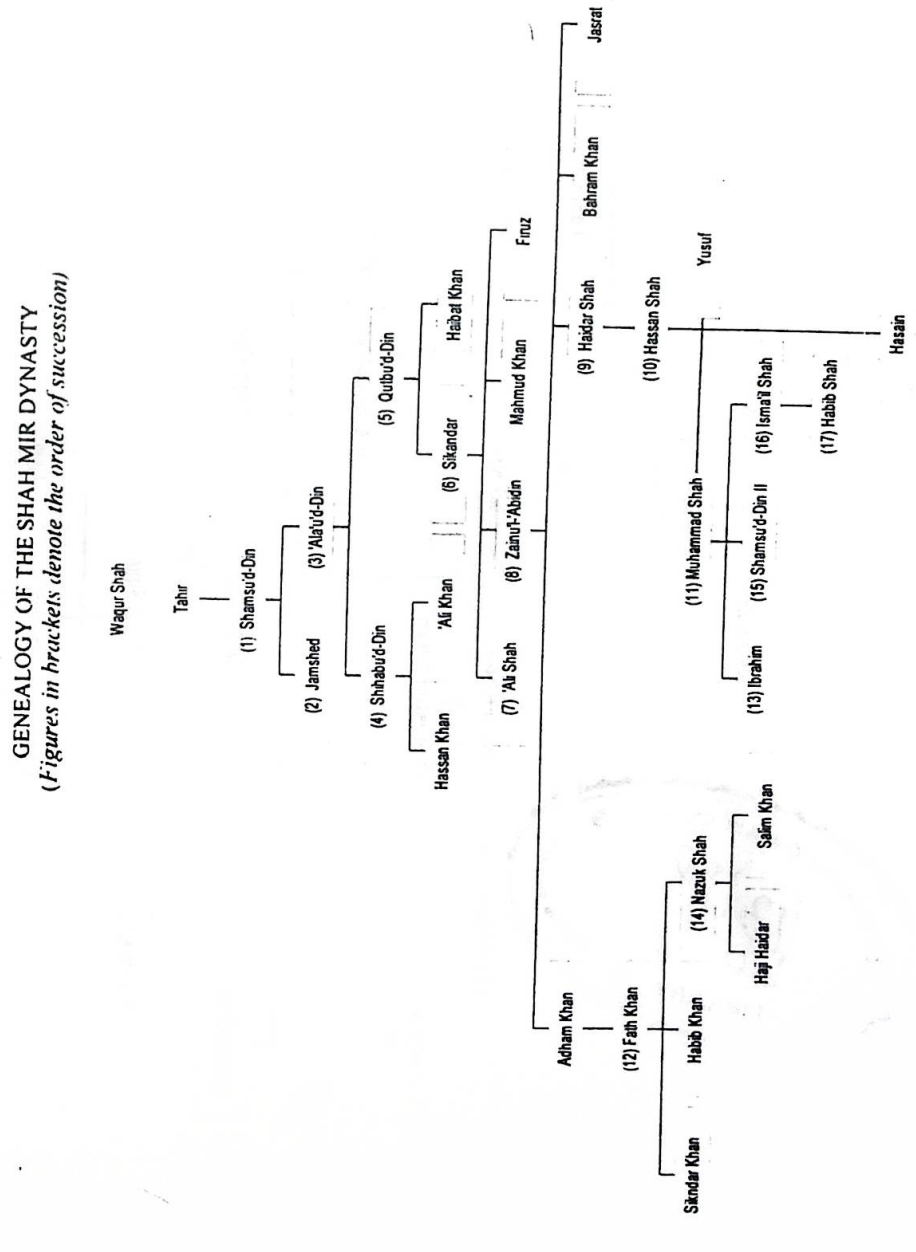
GENEALOGY OF THE SHAH MIR DYNASTY

(Figures in brackets denote the order of succession)



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